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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE title of the work of which the present is a translation, is "Histoire de Don Pèdre Ier, Roi de Castille." This title it has not been thought advisable to adopt, inasmuch as several of our English historians, and even so recent a writer as Sir James Mackintosh, confounding the Castilian King with his namesake and contemporary of Aragon, call him Pedro IV. The same error is observable in the later editions, both of Lord Berners' and Mr. Johnes' translations of Froissart. As, therefore, a large proportion of English readers might not recognize in Pedro I. the ally of the Black Prince, and the victim of Du Guesclin's treachery, the more familiar name, "Peter the Cruel," is affixed to these volumes.

LONDON,
NOVEMBER, 1849.

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OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

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LINE OF THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY.

E OF DON PEDRO, KING OF CASTILE, DEDUCED FROM RAYMOND, OF AS SOME ILLUSTRATION OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THIS HISTORY.

1.

'Aragon — URRACA, Queen of Castle, — **RAYMOND**,
e mar- daughter and heiress of Count of Bur-
a dis- King Alfonso VI. of Castile. gundy.*
f con-

ALFONSO VIII. King of Castile, — BERENGARIA,
divided his dominions, 1129. first wife.

second son, King SANCHO III. King of Castile, — BLANCA,
nd Galicia. eldest son, 1157. of Navarre.

ALFONSO IX. — ELEANOR, daughter
King of Cas- of Hen. II. King
tile, 1158. of England.

King of BERENGARIA, — ALFONSO, King BLANCHE, eldest sis-
nt the second dau. of Leon. ter, married to Louis
ithout Queen of VIII. of France, de-
Castile. prived of her inheri-
tance.

ANDO III. King of Castile — BEATRIX, daughter to Philip,
Leon, called The Saint, in whose Emperor of Constantinople.
son the two Crowns were united.

estor to the Lords ALFONSO X. — VIOLANTE, daughter
; who chose that ap- sirnamed The of Jayme, King of
remembrance of his Wise, 1284. Aragon.
ther Manuel, Em-
tantinople.

n, sirnamed SANCHO, second son, usurped the — MARIA, dau. and
e his father, Crown, and became King of Cas- heiress of Al-
Alfonso and tile, by the style of Sancho the fonso, Lord of
he, daughter Brave, though disinherited by his Molina.
France.† father, 1295.

NDO IV. — CONSTANZA, daughter VIOLANTE, TERESA,
of Castile of Dinis, King of Por- Natural daugh- Natural daugh-
eon, 1312. tugal. ter, married ter, married to
Fernando Perez Alfonso de
de Castro. Meneses.

f Castile, — MARIA, daughter of Alfonso IV.
e siege of King of Portugal.

RO, King of Castile and Leon, murdered by his bastard
r, Enrique. Left no issue male, and was the last legi-
Prince of the House of Burgundy, that reigned in Spain.

William Count of Burgundy, brother of Stephen and of Guy of Burgundy, Archbishop
the style of Calixtus II. in 1119, who in 1129 held the first general Council of Lateran
the Emperors.
o married Bernal de Bearne, created Count of Medina Celi by Henry II. was great-
o La Cerda, eldest son of King Alfonso X. In consideration of considerable grants of land

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THE FOLLOWING PED
BURGUNDY, MAY S

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Fernando,
of Louis I

ALFONSO
and Leon,
Gibraltar, I

* This RAYMOND w
of Vienne in Dauphiny, c
to restore peace betwee
† The Lady Isab
grand-daughter of this

INTRODUCTION.

THE most interesting and circumstantial information we possess concerning the reign of Don Pedro, has been transmitted to us by Pero Lopez de Ayala. That illustrious chronicler, who was a contemporary of Don Pedro, and enabled, through birth and the important offices which he discharged, to observe and study closely the events of his time, seems to have united all the qualities which render the testimony of an historian truly valuable, his naturally great powers of observation having been matured by actual experience in state affairs, and assisted by the cultivation of letters. Nevertheless, he has been accused by modern writers, not only of partiality, but even of dishonesty. I purpose endeavouring to show the injustice of this imputation. If I can prove the veracity of the author whom I have generally taken for my guide, I shall, perhaps, inspire some confidence in my own work.

The life of Ayala is very imperfectly known, and

indeed only through some passages in his own writings. His father, Don Fernando Perez de Ayala, was Adelantado* of the kingdom of Murcia, and the friend or dependent of Don Juan de Alburquerque, the all-powerful minister of Castile during the early part of the reign of Don Pedro. Pero Lopez was page to that king in 1333†. In 1354, at the conference of Tejadillo, Fernando Perez was the spokesman of the revolted Ricos Hombres, and his son was present at the same interview as page or esquire to the Infante Don Fernando de Aragon, one of the principal rebel chiefs‡. A few years after the civil war in 1359, we find Pero Lopez a captain in the Castilian fleet sent against the Aragonese court, and embarked on board the royal galley, whence it may be inferred that he held from that time a post in Don Pedro's household.§

He served Don Pedro faithfully until 1366. Then seeing his sovereign abandon Spain, and seek refuge in Guyenne, Pero Lopez considered himself released from his oath, and offered his services to Don Enrique de Trastamara, the fortunate usurper of the crown of Castile. He fought under his command at the battle of Navarrete, and was taken prisoner by the English. Having purchased liberty by payment of a heavy ransom, he rejoined Don Enrique, probably before his entry into Spain,‖ and was ever treated by that prince

* A governor, uniting civil and military authority.

† Ayala, p. 90, *Abreviada.*

‡ Idem, p. 157 and following.

§ Idem, p. 276.

‖ He was with Don Enrique at Burgos in 1367. Ayala, p. 517. *Abrev.*

as well as by his successors with great consideration. In the reign of Don Juan I, Pero de Ayala, Alferez* mayor or standard-bearer of the military order of the Scarf, was again made prisoner at the battle of Aljubarrota. He afterwards exercised the functions of Grand Chancellor of Castile. He died at a very advanced age, in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

* "The Master of the Horse, or of the Knights of the Emperor or King," says Dr. Southey in a note to his 'Chronicle of Cid,' "is what they call in romance the Alferez. He ought to carry the king's standard when he goes to battle, and he has power to judge knights in all cases of knighthood which arise among them, as if they should sell, or pawn, or misuse their horses or arms. Also he hath the power to settle all suits among them by reason of debts. Also he may restrain or expel those who have deserved it, if they are disobedient in the ordinances and things which he commands them to do in matters of knighthood. And, notwithstanding he may do all these things aforesaid, nevertheless, he cannot adjudge any one to the pain of death, nor to loss of limb, for anything he may say or do. Part IV. Tit. 18, Ley II.

"Conde Don Piñolo Ximenes, the Alferez of King Bermudo, is called 'Christiferus' in old writings, which Yepes explains to be another term for standard-bearer, the banner having either a crucifix or a cross upon it. Chron. Gen. de S. Benito, T. 6, ff. 17.

"The cross, which was the standard of the famous battle of the Navas de Tolosa, was made of iron, because, at that time, anything like luxury had been just denounced by law. About half its staff was covered by a sort of shield, to protect the bearer, and from this an index-hand proceeded, which the Alferez might turn to that part of the field where succour was most needed—at least, this is supposed to have been its use. A print of this standard is given in the notes to 'Mondejar's Historia del Rey Don Alonso VIII,' p. 434."—Southey's Chronicle of the Cid, p. 408.—*T.*

Ayala has left numerous works; the most important, and to my knowledge the only ones which have been printed, are his Chronicles of Castile, comprising the reigns of Don Pedro, Don Enrique II., Don Juan I., and a portion of the reign of Don Enrique III.* He translated a few Latin authors,† especially Livy, whom he attempted to imitate by writing a contemporary history in the rude Castilian of his age. There is also extant a treatise of his, on falconry, which is very highly esteemed, for Ayala united to the learning of a clerk, the worldly accomplishments on which the nobles of those times prided themselves. His experience in the noble art of hunting contributed not a little, it is said, to maintain him in the good graces of the four kings under whom he lived.‡

The uninterrupted favour which Ayala enjoyed under Enrique II. and his successors is, in truth, the only assignable motive for the charge which has been brought against him of calumniating Don Pedro. In fact, no one has succeeded in convicting him of having falsified the truth in his writings maliciously or intentionally; on the contrary, the authors who most

* It is, however, doubtful whether Ayala was the author of the "Cronica de Enrique III." See upon this question Nicolas Antonio, Bibliotheca Hispana vetus, Lib. x, cap. i.

† Among others, a portion of the works of St. Gregory. The best known of his poetical writings, is his "Rimado de Palacio," which, according to Sismondi, was "written in prison for the express purpose of rendering Don Pedro odious to his subjects, and of conciliating their goodwill towards his brother."—Sismondi's Literature of Europe, Vol. II. p. 149.—*T.*

‡ Bib. Hispana vetus, Lib. x. cap. i.

distrust him have made use of his work, and to cite only one, the principal apologist of Don Pedro, the Conde de la Roca has unscrupulously copied him at the very time he was accusing him of falsehood. I shall shortly examine the absurd compilation which has been opposed to the history of Ayala, but for the present will only reply to the general charge of partiality with which our chronicler has been reproached, and his history thus laid open to suspicion.

An accusation which is founded upon no precise fact, is, through its very vagueness, difficult of refutation. Doubtless, Ayala who was both spectator and actor in a great revolution, who had been proscribed by Don Pedro, and treated with favour by Don Enrique, could not always conceal from his readers that his affections were enlisted on one side more than the other; has he, however, attempted to palliate the faults or crimes of the prince for whom he fought? Have those writers, whose condemnation of Don Enrique's conduct was the most severe, ever needed to seek for arguments and proofs elsewhere than in the Chronicle of Ayala? He wrote history, as history was written in the fourteenth century, without pretending to judge the motives of the actions which he recorded. Throughout his narrative the personal opinions, or predilections of the author seldom appear, and if occasionally he is led to indulge in a few short reflections, I appeal to every impartial reader whether the sentiment he expresses be not always that of an honest man. I do not deny that he may be charged with repeating the rumours, which, although generally believed at the time, are now justly suspected; but it should be remarked, that on all such

occasions he affirms nothing, and invariably cites his authority, if popular report may be dignified with that title. Besides, can we wonder that truth should suffer when carried into the enemy's camp? In my opinion, we ought rather to admire the honest chronicler for the pains he has taken to discriminate between truth and error, and to produce a work so generally free from party feeling.

Here, perhaps, should be pointed out some remarkable discrepancies existing between the different editions, or rather manuscripts of Ayala's Chronicle. There are two principal copies known to us, which I shall designate after the manner of the Spanish authors as the *Vulgar* and the *Abreviada*. The Abridgement, notwithstanding its title, seems the more ancient and in all probability is the first compilation of Ayala. Several passages are to be found there which are suppressed in the later copy, evidently from a political motive. Whether these suppressions have been made by himself, or as is more probable, are to be attributed to some copyist attached to the Court, they have their value, in that they show, how far the liberty of writing might be carried in the fourteenth century, since so few alterations, and those bearing so slightly upon the leading facts, satisfied the susceptibility of an usurper.* If, however, Ayala did himself retouch his first compila-

* Was Balthazar Ayala, the Spanish Judge Advocate, who, in the reign of that most arbitrary Prince, Felipe II, advanced the doctrine that kings might be variously compelled by the Sovereign Pontiff to act justly, and that the Holy Father might even, if it were for the advantage of the Commonwealth, depose kings, a descendant of the Chancellor of the usurping Enrique II?

tion in the spirit of flattery, it will be allowed that the trade of a courtier was much easier to follow in the middle ages, than it has become since.

The reproaches with which Ayala has been assailed, may be explained, by remarking that they bear less upon assumed inaccuracies in his narrative than upon the idea which he gives to the modern reader of Don Pedro's character. Thus a book written in perfect good faith was calculated to produce an effect unforeseen by the author himself. A long series of successive and pitiless murders is all that many people discover in the Chronicle of Don Pedro, and when we judge this prince according to the feelings of modern times, nothing more is necessary in order to class him among the most cruel tyrants who have disgraced humanity. How is it that in the popular legends still current in Andalucia, and in the poets, those eloquent historians of the people, the same murders, the same crimes are narrated, and yet Don Pedro appears in them under an entirely different aspect and even inspires a positive interest? The events are the same; nevertheless, the legends and the chronicles leave a totally different impression. The cause of this difference in my opinion, exists in the peculiar character of the two kinds of composition. The historian of the middle ages, indifferent as to the character of the facts he related, often uninteresting through his conciseness, and always coldly exact, wrote for the men of his own time, and described actions which were to be judged by a future generation. On the contrary, the popular legend, full of passionate feeling and consequent partiality, related so as to justify the impression intended to be produced.

Its marvels attract, and its romantic colouring fascinates us. The people of Castile, with an instinctive perception of their true interests, appreciated the efforts of Don Pedro to combat feudal anarchy. They felt indebted to him for having endeavoured to substitute an enlightened despotism for the turbulent and unsystematic tyranny of the Ricos Hombres. While Ayala, who belonged to the dominant caste, viewed Don Pedro as the destroyer of the privileges of the nobility, the people looked upon him as their liberator.

In a word, the testimony of Ayala ought to be accepted by the historian, remembering, however, that the most honest testimony should be received with a certain degree of caution. Ayala has faithfully related to us the various actions of Don Pedro; it remains for us to comment upon them. We have, at the present day, to take into consideration the manners of the age in which he lived, and the difficulties which he encountered. We ought to endeavour to understand his intentions, and the schemes of his adversaries. Such is the task to which we must apply ourselves before we dare pronounce judgment; and with this design, I have undertaken the present work.

The authority of Ayala appears to have been for the first time publicly attacked in Spain during the reign of the Catholic Sovereigns. Already had civilization made rapid progress. The principle which Don Pedro failed to establish, triumphed under the auspices of Fernando and Isabel. That independence of the feudal lords, which had met the approbation of a knight-chronicler of the fourteenth century, was viewed in quite a different light by Monarchs who

had just destroyed feudal anarchy. At the Court of Toledo they spoke no longer of Don Pedro the Cruel, but of Don Pedro the Justiciar. It was then that Pedro Gracia Dei, herald at arms to the Catholic Sovereigns, wrote a life of Don Pedro, or rather a refutation of Ayala.* A single glance upon this ill-digested compilation is sufficient to convince us how truly its author deserved the reproach of ignorance, which was addressed to him by the learned Argote de Molina. As far as we can judge at this distance of time, Gracia Dei had in the composition of his work, two motives, the first, to please his masters by justifying Don Pedro, the second, to flatter the pride of a few noble families, by connecting their genealogy with that of a Castilian king. In fact, the greater part of his book is devoted to tracing, he does not say after what authorities, the pedigree of Don Pedro. As for the events, which he relates very briefly, he has taken for his guide an obscure chronicle of the fifteenth century, attributed by the Marques de Mondejar to Juan Rodriguez de Cuenca, and known by the name of "Sumario de los Reyes de España, by the Despensero Mayor of Queen Leonor, wife of Juan I."

Whoever may be the author of this historical abridgement, he could not have furnished Gracia Dei with the arguments he sought, if an anonymous interpolator had not re-written certain parts of the history of Juan Rodriguez, especially the entire reign of Don Pedro. Here again it is probable that the vanity of some noble

* Printed in 1790 for the first time, in the "Seminario Erudito de Valladares." T. 27 and 28.

families may have dictated these alterations. The consummate ignorance of their author, and his credulity, or love of the marvellous, led him to introduce into his narrative the most absurd stories. Doubtless imagining that there existed no charter, no historical document relative to the reign of Don Pedro, he has grossly outraged both chronology and history. For instance, he has made Pedro's captivity in Toro last three years, and his exile in England a second three years. These two blunders suffice to show what dependance may be placed upon such a distorted rhapsody. It contains, however, one passage from which the apologists of Pedro have pretended to draw satisfactory conclusions. "There exist two chronicles of Don Pedro," says the interpolator, "a true and a false one, the last expressly composed to justify his murderer." An annotator upon Gratia Dei, named Diego de Castilla, who according to some learned doctors, was Dean of Toledo, and perhaps grandson of Don Pedro, has commented upon this passage.

If he is to be believed, the author of the true chronicle was a certain Juan de Castro, Bishop, first of Jaen, afterwards of Palencia, who for fear of compromising himself, would have kept his history secret, had not its existence come to the knowledge of Queen Leonor's Steward of the Household. Subsequently, one Carvajal, a counsellor of Felipe V., discovered the manuscript of Juan de Castro in the monastery of Guadalupe, and borrowed it without intending to return it. At his death, the monks having been advised to demand the restoration of their manuscript, the heirs of Carvajal sent them another, the

first, it is supposed, having been destroyed.* The Conde de la Roca adds, after his fashion, a few further details respecting this marvellous story. According to this author, the Bishop of Jaen, or of Palencia, whom he calls Don Juan Rodriguez, and appears to confound with Queen Leonor's Steward of the Household, wrote two chronicles, the one false, the other true, thus endeavouring to please all tastes, after the example of Procopius, who having written a panegyric upon Justinian, afterwards composed a satire against him. But, we may ask, who has ever seen this *cronica verdadera*, unless the title be given to the absurd compendium

* "Seminario Erudito," t. 27, p. 28, Nicolas Antonio de Sevilla proves satisfactorily that this pretended manuscript of the Bishop of Jaen, is only a copy of the *vulgar* chronicle of Ayala. Bib. Hispana vetus, X, 1.

Mr. Dillon, in a work entitled "Letters from an English Traveller in Spain," which, twelve years after its publication in London, in 1778, appeared slightly altered in Paris, under the title of an "Essai sur la Littérature Espagnole," (*vide* Ross' Translation of Bouterwek's Spanish Literature) gave additional currency to the story of Don Juan de Castro. In his "History of Peter the Cruel," printed ten years later, Mr. Dillon, however, corrected his former error, adding in extenuation, that he had only followed in the wake of Spanish writers; "but," continues Mr. Dillon, "no such work has ever been found, as appears from the testimony of that eminent author, Geronimo de Zurita. Nor is there any foundation, according to the same writer, for the report, that the supposed chronicle of the Bishop of Jaen had been conveyed to England by the Lady Constance, Duchess of Lancaster, daughter of King Peter; or that it was afterwards discovered in Spain in the monastery of Guadalupe; the whole arising, most probably, from there having been two different copies of Ayala's chronicle."—*T.*

of interpolations of which I have just spoken? And allowing that it has really existed, what confidence can be placed in an author who by turns wrote truth and falsehood, as his humour or interest prompted him? One last consideration will, however, suffice to condemn documents, the very existence of which is uncertain, and the authority inadmissible, especially when placed by the side of a record like the chronicle of Ayala, confirmed by so many authenticated testimonies.

Within twenty years after Don Pedro's death, Doña Catalina, his grand-daughter married the grandson of Enrique de Trastamara. This marriage united the offspring of the two rival branches, and thus legalized usurpation. At this period there was nothing to prevent ample justice being rendered to Don Pedro. Shortly afterwards, one of his grand-daughters, Doña Constanza, erected a magnificent mausoleum to his memory at Madrid, and another of his descendants, Don Francisco de Castilla, publicly pronounced his eulogium in some indifferent verses addressed to the Bishop of Calahorra, also great-grandson of Don Pedro.* If a chronicle honourable to his memory had existed, would it not have been carefully preserved and brought to light? would not the Bishop of Palencia, or his heirs, whatever amount of prudence they might possess, have ventured to incur the risk of publishing a justification of the grandfather of their sovereign?

I have but a few words to say concerning the two modern apologists of Don Pedro. The first, the Conde

* Practica de las virtudes de los buenos reyes de España en versos de arte mayor, Zaragoza, 1552, p. 28.

de la Roca, composed, in 1648, a little volume entitled "El Rey Don Pedro defendido." This is, in fact, only an extract from Ayala, written in a cavalier strain, and accompanied by a few reflections, ridiculous enough. On the occasion of the death of Don Fadrique and Queen Blanche, he says of his hero: "There are some persons whose sense of honour is so acute, that having once engaged in a legal prosecution, they will never give in, even although the defendant be proved innocent."* And his justification of the King, reminds us of the old fable.

"Eh bien! mangez moutons, canaille, sotte espèce,
Est-ce pêché? Non, non, vous leur fîtes, seigneur,
Et les croquant beaucoup d'honneur."

Such are the favourite arguments of the Conde de la Roca, expressed in very coarse language, and in the affected style of the age in which he wrote.

After the hidalgo comes the doctor, I beg pardon, the licentiate, Don Josef Ledo del Pozo, professor of philosophy at Valladolid, and author of a book intituled "Apologia del Rey Don Pedro, conforme a la crónica de Don Pero Lopez de Ayala." This work appeared at the close of the last century.† The licentiate, as we see by the title of his book, does not attack the veracity of Ayala. He puts his own interpretation on the actions of Pedro, and arrives at this conclusion: "That he was a legislator of strict integrity, a valiant commander, a thorough Christian, an austere judge, a tender father, a

* El rey Don Pedro def., p. 44.

† The volume before me bears no date, but Señor Ledro often cites Señor de Llaguno, and his edition of 1780.

monarch to be desired (apetecible) a king second to none, worthy of the surnames of Good, Prudent and Just.*

The voluminous defence of Don Josef Ledo may be summed up in these words: "A king can do no wrong; the subject who displeases him is a traitor." The publication of this ponderous and dull apology has been thus explained. The Señor licentiate had had the misfortune to offend either the Inquisition, or the ministers of his Catholic Majesty. Suspected of holding Voltairian and philosophical opinions, he was threatened with the loss of his chair. To lull the storm, he gave this proof of servility; whether he succeeded I have not heard.

For my own part, I have not undertaken to defend Don Pedro; but it has appeared to me that his character and actions deserved to be more fully examined, and that the struggle of an energetic spirit like his, against the manners of the fourteenth century, was worthy the study of an historian.

I have carefully cited the works which have principally assisted me in my labours. I hoped to find some valuable documents in the library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, especially in the appendix announced by Señor de Llaguno, the last editor of Ayala, which has never been printed, but I have failed to discover that collection, which from the profound learning of its author, must possess the highest interest. I have, in my notes, referred to the few manuscripts found in the library of the Academy, to which I was, in the most liberal manner, allowed free

* Apol. del rey Don Pedro, p. 441.

access. At Barcelona I was more fortunate, and during my sojourn in that city in 1846, I made myself acquainted with a large number of very important papers, some analyzed by Zurita, others, as I believe, completely inedited.

Let me here be permitted to testify my gratitude to Don Prospero de Bofarull, the Aragonese keeper of records relating to the crown of Aragon. The archives of Barcelona contain an almost innumerable collection of charters and manuscripts, classed in complete order, by the care of the modest and learned scholar who, for more than thirty years, has presided over that establishment; the very wealth of the collection would, however, have been a source of embarrassment to me, if Don Prospero and his son, Don Manuel, joint archivist, had not guided my researches with a kindness I shall never forget. They directed my attention to all the registers and parchments which could afford me useful information. This was not all; these same registers next required to be deciphered, and with a patience which will be appreciated in men whose time is so valuable, the Señores de Bofarull kindly gave me lessons in Aragonese Paleography, and the Catalan tongue. Under such skilful masters, my progress could not but be rapid. Whatever merit this history may possess in its selection of original documents, and the careful employment of them, I owe entirely to Don Prospero and Don Manuel de Bofarull.

THE HISTORY

OF

PETER THE CRUEL.

CHAPTER I.

THE POSITION OF SPAIN ON THE ACCESSION OF DON PEDRO. 1350.

I.

About the middle of the fourteentn century, wnen Don Pedro ascended the Castilian throne, the Spanish Peninsula was divided into five monarchies: the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Portugal, and Granada. The most extensive of these kingdoms, that of Castile,* was originally an inconsiderable province belonging to the Arabs, and had continued for a long time under their dominion. The Christians of

* Castilla has been said to derive its name from the great number of castles it contained, which the Spanish captains and their retainers won from the Moors, and wherein they fortified themselves, and defied the forces that garrisoned the Mussulman towns. According to Salazar de Mendoza, a castle was emblazoned on the escutcheon of Castile, as far back as the reign of Doña Urraca (1109). Monarquía de España, t. I, p. 142.—*T.*

the Asturias, however, after having laboriously defended their independence against the Mohammedan invaders, had sallied forth from their inaccessible rocks to conquer, inch by inch, a rich territory in the very heart of Spain. Successful wars, and still more successful alliances, had united under their rule, Leon, Galicia, the Basque provinces, the two Castiles, Murcia, Estremadura, and finally a great part of Andalucia. Thus the whole of the northern coast of Spain belonged to the kingdom of Castile, while, in the south, its princes extended their sway from the mouth of the Guadiana to Tarifa, the most southern city of Europe; moreover, as masters of Jaen and Murcia, they almost entirely encompassed the Moorish kingdom of Granada, which, in fact, could scarcely escape their grasp.

From the time that Murcia had been annexed to Castile, the kings of Aragon, the possessors of the fine and fertile provinces in the east, had abandoned the hope of enlarging their territory at the expense of the Arabs; but their long extent of coast, their excellent harbours, and above all, the adventurous character of their Catalan, Valencian, and Balearic subjects, offered wide scope to their ambition. By turns warriors and merchants, their sailors appeared in all parts of the Mediterranean. They had conquered Sardinia, Sicily, and the Morea; they had disputed the empire of the sea with the Venetians and Genoese, and made the Greek emperors tremble.

Notwithstanding the small extent of its territory, and the scantiness of its population, the kingdom of

Navarre was still of considerable importance, on account of its commanding the principal passes of the Pyrenees. Protected by their rugged mountains, even by their very poverty, the Navarrese, holding, as it were, the keys of Spain in their hands, found their alliance courted both by Castile and Aragon, either of which countries it was in their power to throw open to the French or English armies.

In the fourteenth century, Portugal was separated from Spain by almost the same boundaries as now. Her navy, however, was not then distinguished by that boldness and skill which afterwards rendered her illustrious. A wide frontier, assailable upon nearly every side, exposed her to the encroachments of the Castilian sovereigns; thus we find her kings at an early period seeking in foreign alliances a protection against their dangerous neighbours.

The Moors, who had been successively driven from the other provinces of the Peninsula, still maintained a firm footing on the south-east of Andalucia. Granada was the capital of an empire which had formerly extended beyond the Pyrenees, but which was now barely sheltered by the lofty barriers of the Alpuxarres and the Sierra Nevada. The proximity of Africa, and the assistance which the Andalucian Moors obtained from the warlike population of the coast of Barbary, enabled them to sustain the unequal contest yet a little while longer; a fatal despondency had however now seized the Granadine princes, they seemed to foresee their fate, and resigned themselves to it as to a decree of Heaven. Several had even endeavoured to conciliate the Castilian princes by

recognising their suzerainty and paying them tribute. To free them from so humiliating a yoke, new adventurers were needed, who, fresh from the African shores, excited by fanaticism and the hope of plunder, might proclaim a holy war, and perchance rekindle some sparks of that valour which had been stifled by a long series of reverses.

II.

The political institutions of the four Christian kingdoms bore great analogy to each other. The royal authority was tempered, in the first instance, by the power of the great vassals, then by that of the corporate towns (concejos). The kings had no other revenue than was derived from their own apanage, and the taxes freely voted by the towns for some specified object.* In Spain, as in the rest of Europe, the great vassals, or Ricos Hombres,† were exempted from

* Marina, Teoria de las Cortes, Parte II, cap. XXXI.—Cortes de Medina del campo, peticion, 56.

† "Rico ombria was equivalent," writes Mr. Ford in the *Quarterly Review*, "to grandeeship, in which it has long since merged. The title in no wise depended on wealth, though the sound has misled Ducange. The position of the *ric* determines the signification: there is as much difference between a *rico hombre* and a *hombre rico*, as between a *sage femme* and a *femme sage*. Alfonso the Wise, defined the qualifications to be 'good birth, known character, and a *valiant* defender of the king.' . . . *Ric* was the German *reche*, which occurs in the sense of champion in the 'Niebelungen Lied.' The Satrapæ of the Sui-Goths were termed 'richer bændur.'" In the early stages of civilization, power and wealth became convertible terms, and hence the secondary meaning of riches attached to the original rik. Rik is to be

the majority of the imposts,* and were considered to owe the king only military service. In critical periods, the king was accustomed to call a national council, composed of the several classes of the State, in order to unfold to them his projects, and demand the necessary means for carrying them into execution. It was then that the representatives of each class made known their wishes, and presented their sovereign with a written statement of their respective grievances. The king's reply, when conformable to their expressed desire, became the law of the land. In these great national assemblies, called Cortes, the Ricos Hombres and heads of the clergy, either in person, or by their proxies,† were at first the king's only counsellors. Ere long, deputies from the towns were summoned in their turn ;‡ from the day of their first appearing, they played a most important part, and their presence was soon considered essential to the validity of these great assemblies. Henceforth, affairs of state were never transacted without their concurrence, or rather, it was only between them and the kings that they were dis-

traced in the termination of genuine Gotho-Spanish names, as Man*rique*, En*rique* — sometimes in the prefix, as in *Ric*illa, *Rec*aredus, the Gothic Richard." *Quarterly Review* Vol. LXII, p. 101.

* Cortes de Valladolid, Ord. de fijosdalogo, peticion 8.

† Marina, Part ♯, cap. x.

‡ The "Cronica General de España," notices the presence of deputies from the Castilian towns (*los cibdadanos*), at the Cortes of 1169, and this was probably their first appearance. In 1188, the first year of the reign of Alfonso IX, we find express mention of "la muche dumbre de las cibdades è embiados de cada cibdad."—*See* Hallam, Vol. I, p. 386.

cussed at all.* In Castile, the presence of the Ricos Hombres and the prelates was not regarded as absolutely indispensable to the regular constitution of the Cortes.† In fact, they only took their places at the

* Marina, Part I, cap. X.

† In Aragon and Catalonia, on the other hand, if one of the three orders, or *brazos*, was not represented, the assembly could arrive at no legal decision. *See* Capmany, Memorias Historicas I, Apendice 10-14. However, even in Castile, they did not surrender their rights without a struggle. We find the Archbishop of Toledo protesting in 1295 against the acts done in the Castilian Cortes, because neither he nor "the other prelates had been summoned to take their seats, nor given consent to the laws enacted therein, although such consent was falsely alleged to have been given. "Protestamos que desde aquí venimos non fuemos llamados á consejo, ni á los tratados sobre los fechos del reyno, ni sobre las otras cosas que hí fueren—tractadas et fechas, et sennaladamente sobre los fechos de los consejos de las hermandades, et de las peticiones que fueron fechas de su parte, et sobre los otorgamentos que les ficieron, et sobre los previlegios que por esta nazon les fueron otorgados; mas ante fuemos ende apartados et estrannados et secados expresamente nos et los otros perlados et ricos homes et los fijosdalgo; et non fue hí cosa fecha con nuestro consejo. Otrosí, protestamos por razon de aquello que dice en los previlegios que les otorgaron, que fueren los perlados llamados, et que eran otorgados de consentimiento et de voluntad dellos, que non fuemos hí presentes ni llamados nin fué fecho con nuestra voluntad, nin consentiemos, nin consentiemos en ellos," "Teoria de las Cortes," quoted by Mr. Hallam.

The Aragonese Cortes, strictly speaking, consisted of four *brazos*, or branches; their Ricos Hombres and *Infanzones*, or inferior nobility, together with the *Caballeros*, or knights, sitting in separate chambers. In Catalonia and Valencia they sat together. Perguera "Cortes en Cataluña," and Matheu y Sanz "Constitucion de Valencia." The different orders were called *brazos* (arms),

express command of the sovereign, preserving, however, the right of bringing forward and discussing their private petitions. With the deputies of the Commons it was otherwise, they, representing that part of the nation liable to taxation, could alone authorise its enactment, and provide new resources in cases of public necessity. To the three orders, but especially to the Commons, also belonged the examination of the right of succession to the crown, and according to a custom, the origin of which has been long forgotten, the sovereigns nominated their own heir in Cortes, and required the assembled estates to recognize his claims.

The political importance early acquired by the cities in Spain is naturally explained by the history of the country. When the Christians, who had been driven by the Moors into the fastnesses of the Asturias, felt themselves strong enough to assume the offensive, they commenced that course of conquest which only terminated in the complete expulsion of the Moslems. The struggle was severe, every inch of ground was purchased with a battle, and the princes, or rather the Christian captains, could at that time only recompense their soldiers with the land taken from the enemy. The conquering Spaniards drove the Moorish population before them, and established themselves in the deserted cities; and thus the words conquest and colonization (poblacion) are synonymous with ancient writers. And even after they were peaceably domiciled in the towns taken from the Arabs, the new colonists never ceased to be

because they embrace and comprehend the entire kingdom, "Brazos del reino porque abraçan y tienen en si." Martel, "Forma de celebrar Cortes," cap. VIII.—*T.*

soldiers, but preserved their military habits. Their duty was to protect the frontier (estremadura), but they daily made fresh conquests, and even followed the enemy far into his own country, led by chiefs chosen by themselves. Frequently one city entered into alliance with another, associations or brotherhoods (hermandades)* were established, several communities thus uniting for the purpose of reciprocally ensuring each other's independence.† At first, the sole object of these associations was the expulsion of the Arabs; subsequently their end was the defence of common liberties and privileges against every oppressor, whoever he might be. The Spanish burgesses were always armed, and thus possessing a considerable power in the state, were the more respected by their kings, whose manifest interest it was to keep on good terms with men who had neither the ambition, nor the claims of the nobility and clergy.

The election of deputies for Cortes was not direct. They were nominated by the town municipalities, or councils, whose members were themselves chosen by the voice of the burghers.‡ It does not appear that originally the privilege of a vote in the National Assembly depended upon the will of the sovereign; on

* The novels of Cervantes and Le Sage have made the term *hermandades* familiar to all Europe, though, as Mr. Prescott remarks, in them it conveys no adequate idea of the extraordinary functions these associations assumed at the period of their original foundation.—*T.*

† Marina, Part II, cap. XXXIX.

‡ Compare Capmany, "Práctica de las Cortes," p. 231.—Marina, Part I, cap. XX.

the contrary, there is reason to believe that every community, that is to say, every town independent of a temporal or ecclesiastical lord, had a right to return deputies to Cortes to give its vote, or rather to express its opinions; in fact, to consent to, or refuse the demands of the prince. But all the towns did not equally appreciate the advantages of such representation, and the expenses which attended the maintenance and sending of members, seemed to many corporations a charge, too heavy to be fully compensated by the honour of participating in grand political deliberations.* They therefore entrusted their petitions to the deputation from another town, charging it with the task of protecting their interests; and in this way many a community, which possessed but one vote in the Cortes, represented the opinions of several others. The kings, who were at first obliged to summon the towns to send their representatives to Cortes, now claimed the right of naming those which should enjoy this privilege, so soon as it became estimated at its just value. Hence arose an irregular representation of the Commons, founded upon precedents more or less disputable, and often without reference to the population, the wealth—in a word, the relative importance of the several towns.

III.

However opposed the pretensions of the Commons and the exigencies of the kings might be, their interests

* Sempere, "Historia de las Cortes," 56. Such was the apathy of the towns, that in the Cortes held at Alcala in 1348, the Cortes in which the celebrated code of the Siete Partidas became law, there was not a single deputy from the kingdom of Leon present.—"Teoria de las Cortes, p. 154."—*T.*

were frequently united by a common danger. The turbulent temper of the Ricos Hombres not only alarmed the burgesses, but outraged the royal authority. The nobles of that period were a species of petty despots, almost independent, and always ready to invade the town lands in their vicinity, to disturb commerce, and extort money from the traders, besides invariably resisting the sovereign, except when, by yielding, they could best serve their own interest.

We may appreciate their independence by the insufficiency of the measures taken to repress it. The ancient laws of Castile forbade the nobles to pillage, maltreat, or slay their personal enemies *before* declaring war against them. Nine days after this declaration, every act of hostility became legitimate.* Thus the right of making peace and war, so long the exclusive privilege of the monarchy, belonged in those days to every feudal lord. Nor can we be surprised at such concessions as these being extorted from the weakness of princes. There were many Ricos Hombres who, in birth, wealth, and power, might more than vie with the kings themselves.† Some possessed con-

* "The Emperor, Don Alfonso, passed a law in the Cortes of Najera, that no gentleman (*fijodalgo*) should strike another, slay him, overrun his lands, or do him any wrong or dishonour, unless, preparatory to renouncing his friendship, he challenged him. And that any one who should strike or slay another, till nine days had elapsed from the date of the challenge, should be accounted a felon (*alevoso*), and, as such, might be accused before the king or emperor. *Ordenamiento de Alcala*, I. XLVI, Cap. XXXII. *Fuero viejo*, Titol. V, I, I.

† This was especially the case in Aragon. The form of oath, stated on the testimony of Antonio Perez, in his "Relaciones," taken by the Aragonese nobility to their new sovereign, is well

siderable property in the different kingdoms of the Peninsula, and although nominally vassals to their several princes, were in reality subject to none. Their fortresses, situated upon inaccessible rocks,* carefully fortified, always provisioned against a long siege, and guarded by bands of mercenaries, who were well practised in all the arts of war, enabled them to brave the resentment of one suzerain, whilst they sought the protection of another. The means by which a king of Spain endeavoured to attach his great vassals to his person were as insufficient as his physical resources, and these last were confined to the distribution of a few offices at court, more or less lucrative, and a share in lands, acquired either by conquest or confiscation, or which formed part of the royal domain.

The exact relations of suzerainty and vassalage existing between the kings and the Ricos Hombres, are difficult to define. There was a natural suzerainty, and a suzerainty by homage. The accident of birth conferred a natural suzerainty, an *hommage rendu*, that is to say, a contract freely entered into, pledged him who accepted a fief or an office granted by a king as a lord, to feudal service. The majority of the nobles in this wise recognized several suzerains; first, the king of the provinces in which they were born, and then the several

known. "Nos que valemos tanto como vos, &c." "We, who are as good as you, choose you for our king and lord, provided that you observe our laws and privileges; and if not, not." And Alfonso III. refers to the ancient times in Aragon, when there were "as many Kings as Ricos Hombres."—*Zurita, Anales de Aragon.*—*T.*

* These fortresses are designated in ancient charters and chronicles, by the words *rochas, peñas bravas, casas fuertes*, &c.

lords of whom they held their lands in fief, thus making it frequently difficult to decide which should be obeyed. The Ricos Hombres pretended only to be bound to the king by a voluntary tie, revocable at will. Nor were they content with casting off their allegiance at pleasure; they imagined they might likewise free themselves from their duties towards their native country, merely by the performance of certain absurd ceremonies. The laws of the middle ages were fruitful in symbolical forms. The king could create a Rico Hombre by presenting him with a banner and a cauldron, * the one to serve as a rallying mark for his soldiers, the other to prepare their food. The Rico Hombre could disclaim his country by dwelling nine days in a foreign land, and delivering through some notary, an attested deed setting forth his renunciation of his former suzerain. This act, common in the fourteenth century, was signified by the curious word *desnaturalicion*, † as

* Dár Pendon y Caldera. *See* Ayala, "Cronica de Don Pedro," p. 67.

† The formalities by which the governor of a castle freed himself from the homage he had sworn in a case where the liege lord refused to annul the obligation were much more complicated. A Portuguese knight, named Martin Vasquez de Cunha, held the Castle of Celourico in fief, for Queen Doña Beatriz, wife of Don Alfonso III. He wished to deliver up his charge, but the Queen refused to accept it. Simply to abandon the castle, would have been to incur the penalty of felony, for he had sworn to defend Celourico against all the world, and to surrender it to no one but the Queen, his liege lady. In this dilemma, Martin Vasquez sent messengers to all the courts of Europe, submitting the difficulty of his position to the decision of monarchs, knights, and the most learned doctors. Having been formally advised how to act, he

if the disaffected noble could really change his condition at his own caprice.

Amongst the great vassals, the most powerful, by rea-

placed in his castle a cock, a hen, a cat, a dog, salt, oil, vinegar, bread, flower, wine, water, meal, fish, onions, tools, nails, arrows, a shield, a lance, ropes, wood, a grindstone, a basket, a cutlass, coals, a pair of bellows, tinder, flints, and steel. Upon the wall he had stones placed, as if to repel an assault, then he set fire to one of the buildings within the inclosure of the fort, and ordered every body to leave the castle. When he was left alone, he closed and barricaded the inner gates. This done, he fastened to the battlements a pulley and a cord, to the end of which was suspended a basket. By means of this apparatus he descended into the moat, sliding along the ramparts. His exit was not sufficient, others must be prevented entering by the same way. He therefore drew up the basket again, and threw the cord over the wall. Then the governor, mounting his horse, rode round the castle thrice, crying out each time, "To the rescue of the Queen's castle!" No one appearing, Martin Vasquez held himself released from his oath.

According to the Portuguese author who gives these details, Martin Vasquez was the first who adopted this ingenious mode of freeing himself from an oath of homage, and it must have been in accordance with this precedent, apparently much approved, that the above-mentioned formalities were sanctioned by the law of the Partidas in Castile. *See* Duarte Nuñez do Liâo. "Chronicas dos Reyes de Portugal," t. II, p. 174.

The right of the subject to *denaturalize* himself, existed in Spain twenty years ago, and may perhaps exist even now. The Sixth Edition of "The Institutes of the Civil Law of Spain," by Doctors D. Ignatius Jordan de Anvy del Rio, and D. Miguel de Manuel y Rodriguez, which was translated in 1825, by Mr. Johnston, Barrister of the Temple, says, "The rights of a natural born subject may be lost or renounced by five modes or ways:

"1st. By treason against the king, and this includes the forfeiture of property and honours, or titles. I. 5, tit. 24, p. 4.

[2nd.

son of the extent of their domains, and the military force at their command, were the heads, or Masters of the Orders of Chivalry, which were originally established in Spain, towards the middle of the twelfth century as a permanent militia, always ready to take up arms against the enemies of the true faith. They had, however, long since learned to wage war against Christians likewise. To these orders belonged a great number of castles and towns. They possessed immense wealth, and very great influence; the majority of noble families having some affiliated members. A Master exercised over the brothers of his order an authority more absolute than that of any other military chieftain; for the natural *esprit de corps*, and the solemn oaths taken at the foot of the altar, ensured to him the passive obedience of a numerous body, who were also united by a community of interests. The power of these *cavallerias*, as they were called, was still further augmented by the alliances they formed among themselves. Following the example of the

"2ndly. If the king machinates the death of a natural born subject without justice or law.

"3rdly. If he denies him justice.

"4thly. If he dishonours his wife. L. 5. tit. 24, p. 4. These three last may have given rise to the

"5thly, Which consists in the denaturalization (*denaturalicion*), or voluntary renunciation of his rights and allegiance by the natural born subject. By which all reciprocal obligations between the sovereign or lord and the subject cease; because denaturalization signifies, or implies, as it were, the relinquishment of, or separation from that natural tie or obligation, which links the subject with, or binds him to his sovereign or lord, or the land in which he lived. I. 5, tit. 24, p. 4.—*T.*

towns, the different military orders, engaged by solemn oaths, to render each other assistance, and to unite their entire strength in order to ensure the maintenance of their privileges, and the preservation of their rich endowments.*

According to the spirit of their constitution, the knights were at liberty to elect their own Masters; the kings, however, very soon sought to exercise some influence over their nominations, and hence schisms and intestine divisions arose among the orders, and finally civil war; the ordinary conclusion, in the middle ages to all difficulties inherent in such defective institutions.†

There were certain orders of knighthood peculiar to each kingdom in Spain. The most celebrated, namely, those of St. Jago, Calatrava and Alcantara‡ made

* I extract some passages from a treaty of alliance between the three Masters of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, dated from the Puebla de Chillon, April 2, 1318: "Let us proclaim and establish that we will unite and agree to demand of our lord the King, Don Alfonso, that he maintain our privileges, liberties, usages, and customs, and the franchises of our lands. That, if any one, of *whatever condition*, attack one of us, or one of our brothers, or our lands and vassals, or anything belonging to us, doing us wrong and injustice, we will unite to defy, (querellallo), insult, and prevent him from thus injuring us."—*Coleccion diplomatica de Abella.* Library of the Historical Academy at Madrid.

† There were often two Masters elected at the same time by two parties, and making war upon each other.—*See* Rades, "Cronica de las tres ordenes."

‡ The Order of Sant Jago (St. James) was founded in 1170, to protect the pilgrims journeying to Compostella. The knights wore a white mantle, embroidered with a crosslet of red, like a dagger—rubet ensis sanguine Arabum—and were bound to carry

Castile their head-quarters, and might be considered as subject to that crown; although they had very considerable possessions in other kingdoms. To the order of St. Jago, for instance, belonged several important commanderies in Aragon, more especially in Valencia. When the standard of the order was unfurled against the infidels, all the knights, whatever might be their country, were bound to mount their horses at the call of their *Master*; but the statutes of the original founder had not provided for the case of war between Christian princes. Thus some of the brethren had to choose between the fidelity due to the king whose subjects they were, and the obedience which they had sworn to render to the chief of their order. At all times, an election at these foreign commanderies was the occasion of lively disputes between the sovereigns interested and frequently excited the most serious conflicts.

The Hidalgos, or gentlemen, held a rank under the Ricos Hombres, analogous to that of the Ricos Hombres under the king.* Every noble had attached to his

on an incessant warfare against the infidels. They adopted the rule of St. Augustine. The Order of Calatrava, a fortress situated on the frontier of Andalucia, was instituted 1164, to defend that stronghold from the Moors, the Templars having given up the task in despair. The Knights of Calatrava followed the Cistercian rule, and wore a white robe and scapulary. The Order of Alcantara originated in two cavalleros of Salamanca, who, in the reign of the Emperor Alfonso, erected a castle on the site of the hermitage of St. Julian, and with the Bishop of Salamanca's approbation, adopted the rule of St. Benedict. Their dress was a white mantle, embroidered with a green cross.—*T.*

* "The true old Spanish term for gentility, goodness of birth,"

service, a certain number of gentlemen, who did him homage, and held lands of him in fief. These also had their vassals, so that the labourer had several masters, whose orders were often contradictory. Thus the institutions of the Middle Ages gave rise to difficulties such as could be met only by violence. Nevertheless, the laws and national customs required every vassal, whatever might be his condition, to obey his immediate lord before all others, and therefore a simple knight did not incur the penalty of treason if he took up arms against the king, at the command of the Rico Hombre to whom he paid homage.

In 1333, Don Alfonso, King of Castile, caused an esquire, accused of felony, to be tried by a species of jury composed of Ricos Hombres, knights, and doctors, learned in the laws and customs of the kingdom. This esquire, governor of a castle which he held of his immediate lord, had refused to open its gates to the king.* Upon his acknowledging that his lord had not given him express orders thus to act, he was con-

says a writer on Spanish heraldry, in the "Quarterly Review," "was fidalguia—hidalguia; and the hijo d'algo, the son of a somebody, not filius nullius, *απατωρ*, as Aliatar stigmatises the bastard Mudarra,

"Bajo y espurio
Hijo de ninguno y nada."

"The hidalgo was the *armiger* of England, the *geschlechter* of the Germans, the *gentilhomme* of France; he resembled the old Gothic *tiuphade*, a franklin, a nobilis minor, an intermediate rank; 'generosus non nobilis'—a gentleman without a title."—*Quarterly Review*, No. CXXIII. p. 102.—*T.*

* According to Mariana, he was Alcayde of the Castle of Iscar. —"Mariana," Book XVI. chap. III.—*T.*

demned to death. "This sentence," says a chronicler, "had the effect of obliging the governors of fortresses to obtain from their lords express permission to receive the king whenever he should present himself at their gates."* It is curious to oppose to this judgment, pronounced, as it appears, with unusual solemnity, a circumstance in the life of the same prince, equally bearing upon the delicate point of feudal obedience. In 1334, Alfonso made preparations to reduce to subjection one of his insubordinate vassals, and to besiege him in his city of Lerma. Garcia de Padiella, a knight attached to the rebel, seeing no prospect of reconciliation, boldly demanded of Don Alfonso a horse and suit of armour to fight under his liege lord's banner against the king. The prince immediately ordered the horse and armour to be delivered to him, but, at the same time, warned the cavallero that, if taken, he should pay with his head for his fidelity to the Lord of Lerma.† We may see in the action and words of Don Alfonso, the knight and king united in the same man, who although he yields to the chivalric prejudices of his early training, does not forget what is due to his prerogative as king. The customs of the age, and the rights of the crown are equally respected by the generous monarch.

IV.

In the fourteenth century, feudalism had not, in Spain, the same character which it exhibited in the rest of Europe. The same causes which had

* Cronica de Don Alfonso XI. p. 274.

† Idem. p. 299.

given municipal institutions and political importance to the larger towns, had established between the nobles and villeins relations of a milder nature than existed in any other country.* To understand the customs of the Peninsula, we must continually revert to the early times, when those provinces which had been formerly occupied by the Arabs were re-conquered. Noble or villein, rich or poor, all the Spaniards who had settled upon the territory, thus freed from the Mohammedan yoke, were soldiers of the same race—conquerors of a depopulated land.

Between the most powerful and the most needy of these colonists, there were doubtless those degrees of subordination which the inequality of fortune marks out in all societies; the superiority, however, was entirely material, as the very name of Rico Hombre implies. We do not find in Spain two hostile classes, the one abusing its victory, the other sullenly brooding over its defeat. The Rico Hombre was to his vassal no more than the captain is to the soldier. They are companions in arms; the one commands, the other obeys, but they mutually respect each other, feeling that their interests are identical.

The affability of the great, and that freedom of

* Don Lope de Estuñiga, a Castilian Rico Hombre, belonging to the first nobility of the kingdom, consented, in 1434, to joust in a tourney against an antagonist, who could not even prove that he was an hidalgo. I do not think that, at that period, an example of similar condescension could be anywhere found except in Spain. A century later, the "chevalier sans peur et sans reproche," the valiant Bayard, refused to mount a breach in company with lansquenets. *See* Passo honroso de Suero de Quiñones, p. 48.

speech common amongst the lower orders, which so forcibly strikes the foreign traveller in Spain, is no novelty in that country. This familiarity of intercourse dates from time immemorial. At the period our history commences, the nobles possessed, it is true, the larger portion of the land, but they were bound to pay wages to its cultivators, and the condition of these latter appears to have been that of farmers, enjoying, on payment of rent, the produce they derived from the fields worked by their own hands, with liberty to break their contract when they found the conditions burdensome.*

There were, in Castile, a few very ancient institutions, apparently established in direct opposition to feudalism as it existed in the north of Europe. In a certain number of districts, called *Behetrias*, the land belonged to the peasants; but, as a village could not then be conceived existing without a feudal lord, the inhabitants of the Behetrias chose one for themselves, and, as the price of his protection, paid him a rent which generally only consisted of certain articles

* The Cortes of Valladolid, in 1351, fixed the price of a day's labour and the wages of husbandmen and artisans, (Ordenamiento de Menestrales), whence we may conclude that, before that time, the cultivators of the soil might put what price they liked upon their work. The 6th article of the Ordenamiento de Prelados, promulgated by the same Cortes, has been interpreted as a prohibition to the labourer to change his master. My opinion, however, is, that this prohibition only applied to the petty land-owners, vassals by homage of ecclesiastical lords. Its object was to prevent these land-owners from evading the royal taxes and tithes, by rendering homage for their domains to lords who enjoyed immunity from these same taxes.

of provisions; they defrayed his expenses, however, whenever he visited their hamlet, which might be only for a few days in each year. Some of these lands were exempted even from this slender proof of vassalage, or rather, their tenure of service was entirely illusory. The greater part of the Behetrias enjoyed the privilege of changing their lord so often as it seemed good to them, were it "seven times a-day," according to the poetical text of their old charters.* Some were required to choose their Señor out of certain noble families of the country, others might seek him from "sea to sea," that is, throughout all Castile. It is evident that, in a country where such institutions existed, it would have been difficult to arrest the contagion of example among the less favoured provinces, if the feudal regime had been very severe. On the other hand, the character of the Spanish nation, proud, susceptible and impatient of injury, contributed still more to maintain, between lord and vassal, that mutual respect natural to men who esteem each other.

V.

Although the laws permitted slavery in Spain, and even made it the penalty of certain crimes,* there were hardly any other slaves besides the Moorish prisoners of war, who were employed in domestic offices, and protected by very ancient laws, more

* Ayala, "Cron. de Don Pedro, ano II. cap. XIV." Manuscript catalogue of the Behetrias, in the library of the Royal Academy of History.

† Fuero real I. II. tit. 7, lib. IV. Compare with Ordenamiento de Alcalà, I. I, tit. 21.

humane perhaps than those which prevail in the present day in many European colonies.

The Moors and Jews, when they had obtained permission from their conquerors to reside in the country which had given them birth, were considered legally rather as foreigners than serfs. They enjoyed the free exercise of their religion under a few unimportant restrictions; they were allowed to possess lands, to nominate their own magistrates, and even the Castilian judge, before whom they pleaded in their disputes with the Christians.* The first Spanish kings had robbed the Mohammedan settlers of everything they possessed; their successors, more alive to their true interests, not only suffered the infidels to become their subjects, but often took care to guarantee to them, in the most precise manner, the quiet enjoyment of their property.†

It would be a gross error to attribute to Spain, in the fourteenth century, the religious passions and intolerance which animated her in the sixteenth. In the continual wars between the Moors and the Christians, policy had for a long time a larger share than fanaticism. Islamism was already notoriously on the decline, and no longer made proselytes, its final ex-

* Cortes de Valladolid, art. 56-58. Ord. de Prelados, art. 17. Ayala, p. 64.

† Especially on the taking of Toledo. Ayala, II, cap. XVIII. At the conclusion of the sixteenth century, there were still so many Moors in the northern provinces of Spain, that they offered to Henry IV. an army of 80,000 men, if he would assist them in shaking off the yoke under which they groaned. *See* "Mémoires du Maréchal de La Force," published by the Marquis de Lagrange, t. I, p. 219 and following.

tinction in the Peninsula could be foreseen, and might, so to speak, be calculated upon with certainty. Those enemies who are too weak to be dreaded, are rarely hated, and the battles of Las Navas and Rio Salado had assuaged that thirst for vengeance which had been excited by the defeat at Xerez. Commerce and political necessities, in establishing an intimate connexion between the two nations, had assimilated their manners. Thus the Andalucian Moors allowed their women a freedom unknown in other Mohammedan countries;* while, on the other hand, there was something African in the jealousy of the Spaniards. The favourite amusements and warlike exercises† of the two nations were likewise common to both. Love, always irresistible under a burning sky like theirs, triumphed over religious prejudices; more than one Castilian knight wore the favours of a Mohammedan lady, nor were the proud beauties of Seville and Cordova insensible to the homage of the young Granadine Emirs.

* The liberty enjoyed by the Moorish ladies in Spain may be estimated by two ordinances, promulgated in the thirteenth century, by Yussef ben Ismael, a King of Granada, the one prescribing that they shall occupy a separate place in the mosque, and the other forbidding them to be present at public festivals without the escort of their husbands or brothers.—*Conde*, p. 4, cap. XXII. The more intellectual among them, plunged boldly into historical, scientific, and philosophical discussions; moreover, Conde gives us a list of Arabian lady poetesses, whose *elegantes conceptos* served to soothe the declining years of Abderahman I.—*Hist. de los Arabes*, p. II. cap. 87.—*T.*

† Dances and the *juegos de cañas*. The Andalucian Moors are, I believe, the only Mohammedans who have had national dances (zambras) in which both sexes took part.

The Arab language and literature were cultivated in schools founded under ecclesiastical patronage. On the frontier, the two idioms had melted into a patois which was common to all the neighbouring people, and was favourable to general intercourse.* The Christian kings invited to their court Arabian physicians, geometricians, and astrologers, who enjoyed all the consideration which learning could inspire in a semi-barbarous age. The Castilian nobility did not refuse to grant the title of "Don" to Moorish cavaliers, and even the rich Jew bankers obtained this distinction, which was, at that period, still very rare.† Everywhere did chivalric ideas and manners triumph over religious and political prejudices. It was not unusual for Arab warriors to receive the accolade which conferred the honour of knighthood from the Spaniard with whom he had just broken a lance on the battle-field.‡ In war they piqued

* Algarrabia. "El Conde Lucanor" shews how widely spread was the knowledge of Arabian literature in Spain, during the fourteenth century.

† Don Farax, Don Reduan, Don Simuel in Ayala passim. We ought to notice, that Ayala only allows the title to princes of the blood, a few very powerful Ricos Hombres, certain great officers of the crown, and lastly, to the Masters of the Military Orders.

‡ In 1274, Mohammed II., King of Granada, was dubbed a knight by Alfonso X. *Conde, Hist. de los Arabes*, Part IV, cap. IX. Thus one of the old romances speaks of the Infidels as

"Caballeros Granadinos,
Aunque Moros, hijos d' algo."

A more modern bard has reproached his brethren of the lyre for their unorthodox liberality in choosing Moorish heroes for the subjects of their lays so exclusively, that, as he says, "what with all these Abenamars, these Zegris and Aliatares, Adulces, Zaidas, and Abdallahs, it might seem a matter of doubt whether there were

themselves on their courtesy; in peace the interchange of hospitality, and even of real friendship, united the noble families of the two religions. When the Christian kings quarrelled amongst each other, the alliance of the sovereign of Granada was sought without scruple, and very frequently discontented Ricos Hombres, or even princes of the blood royal, found an asylum within the walls of the Alhambra, whilst rebellious *walis* (governors) were welcomed at the Court of Toledo. In 1324, an Infante of Castile, who had revolted against his sovereign, fought under the banners of a Moorish king against his fellow countrymen, whilst a Prince of

any Christians in Spain." The sarcasm has, however, been thus answered by the champions of the Moorish romances:

"No es culpa si de los Moros
Los valientes hechos cantan,
Pues tanto mas resplandecen
Nuestras celebras hazañas;
Que el encarecer los hechos
Del vencido en la batalla,
Engrandece al vencedor,
Aunque no hablen de el palabra."

Romancero General.

"It is no sin that minstrel's story
Should sing the Moorish chief's renown,
Since thus the brighter shines our glory,
The Costlier shews our victor's crown.
Though not one word of him be spoken—
The Spaniard—yet to praise the lance
His valorous hand in twain has broken,
The sword he bears away in token,
Must needs the conqueror's fame enhance.—*T.*

Granada joined his forces to those of Don Alfonso.* Contemporary chroniclers testify neither surprise nor indignation at such alliances; or, if any censure is passed, it is upon the disloyalty, not the irreligion of the deed.

More than half a century had elapsed since the Inquisition had been established in Spain, but its power was then far from being what it eventually became; indeed, scarcely any trace of its existence can be discovered. In the kingdom of Aragon, there were, it is true, tribunals appointed for the detection of the crime of heresy, but possibly that country had become an especial object of suspicion to the Holy See, because a King of Aragon had taken up arms in favour of the Albigeois. Persecutions, however, appear to have been very rare at that period, and were almost wholly directed against those enthusiastic and violent reformers, who, in their eagerness to make proselytes, disturbed the religious worship of their fellow citizens. As regards the Jews and Moors, far from being the objects of persecution, they were amenable to the Inquisition only when by words or writings they sought to tempt the Christians from the faith of their forefathers; and even then, they could not be prosecuted without the royal authority. But kings in general showed so little disposition to let the clergy exercise a domineering influence, that in 1350, Pedro IV., King of Aragon, peremptorily prohibited ecclesiastics from encroaching upon the

* Cronica de Don Alfonso XI, p. 100-115. Mariana, I, 707-713. Id. I, 813.

secular jurisdiction.* Castile had never been tainted by the Albigeois heresy, and consequently knew nothing of Inquisitors except the name. Heretics, if indeed any there were in this kingdom, had for their judges, bishops who proceeded according to the canon law, not Dominican monks, as in Aragon.† In fact, throughout Spain, it does not appear that the conversion of the infidels was hotly pursued either by acts of rigour, or the arts of persuasion. What interest could her monarchs have in favouring such an Apostolic zeal as tended to diminish their revenues? for both Moors and Jews payed a tax somewhat heavier than the Christians.

If, however, there existed no great enthusiasm in Spain, religion, at least, had no declared opponents, and to this general lukewarmness may perhaps be attributed the very secondary part the clergy took in all political debates of the fourteenth century. We ought besides to observe, that high ecclesiastical dignitaries belonging to the order of the nobility, being proprietors of towns and castles like the Ricos Hombres, were governed by the same interests, the same passions, and consequently were ill qualified to assume the character of arbitrators in the very frequent disputes occurring between the kings and their great vassals‡. The inferior clergy springing

* Privilége de Val. fol. 119 (Barcelona, July 31, 1350). Manuscript in the library of the Royal Academy of History.

† Llorente, Historia de la Inquisicion, 1, 106.

‡ Mariana, in pronouncing a panegyric upon Gil Alvarez de Cuenca, Archbishop of Toledo, is at a loss to conceive which made the Archbishop most worthy of admiration, "his good government in time of peace, or his skill in the art of war?" *Hist. de España*, Lib. 16, cap. v.—*T.*

from the people, and living amongst them, shared their ignorance and rudeness. Such was the laxity of morals that a very large number of the priests kept concubines, who prided themselves on the profession of their lovers, and assumed airs of superiority, nor did the conduct of these ecclesiastics occasion any scandal, although the shameless luxury of their mistresses often excited the envy of rich citizens, and even of noble ladies. Frequently but always uselessly, the Cortes issued decrees to repress the insolence of these priests' ladies (barraganas de clerigos), who formed a class by themselves, had their own privileges, and were so numerous a body, that special laws were framed for their governance.*

Notwithstanding the seclusion to which women were condemned, the licentiousness of manners was extreme in all classes of society. Seduction was an easy matter for kings, Ricos Hombres, and prelates, who were always surrounded by vassals interested in corrupting

* Cortes de Val., art. 24. Similar customs prevailed in France.

Une belle amie ot le prestre
Que il vestoit et bien et bel;
Bonne cote ot et bon mantel, etc.

See the *fabliau* of the "Prestre qui ot mère a force." Barbazan, III, p. 190. The word *barraganas* (companions) bore no dishonourable signification in the middle ages. Barragan, in the masculine, signified a young cavalier, a man of honour, and in this sense it is used in the "Romancero du Cid." The position of the *barraganas*, recals that of the Greek courtesans ἑταῖραι, or rather that of the *captives* in the Iliad and the tragedians. Tecmessa, in Sophocles, says: Γ'δετε τὴν ὁμεννέτην Αἴαντος; ὁμεννέτης is well translated into old Castilian by *barragana*.

them. The mistress of a grandee often lived under the same roof with his legitimate wife, and the children of both were brought up together, no distinction being made between them. The title of bastard, far from being a term of reproach, was borne proudly. It presented no bar to an entrance upon the most honourable career, and the term figures in a large number of public acts*.

Were it necessary to characterize the fourteenth century in Spain by the vice then most prevalent, I

* Yanguas, Antigüedades de Navarra, verbo Bastardo. The law of the Siete Partidas allows temporary union with concubines, *barraganas*, as a means of populating deserted lands. Part. IV, tit. XIV. I. 1 and 2.

"The *barragana*," says an Edinburgh reviewer, in an article upon Marina's Ensayo Historico-critico sobre la antigua legislacion y principales cuerpos legales de los reynos de Leon y Castilla, "though inferior to the lawful wife, had various rights and privileges secured to her. La barragana si probada fuere fiel á su sennor, é buena, herede la meatad que amos en uno ganaren en muebles é en raiz. Where there were no legitimate descendants, the children of the barragana succeeded to their father's inheritance in preference to his collateral heirs; and where he died without making provision for them, they were entitled to share in the division of his property with his children born in lawful wedlock." The natural children had the same civil privileges as the legitimate offspring. They were publicly acknowledged by their father, and were educated under the same masters. If he chose to bestow upon them an adequate fortune, he could raise them to the rank and consideration of nobility. Esto es fuero de Castiella: que si en fijodalgo a fijos de barragana, puedelos facer fijosdalgo, e darles quinientos sueldos. *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XXII, p. 65 and following.

believe that it would be neither coarseness of manners, nor rapacity, nor inveterate habits of violence in the powerful. The most salient characteristic of this sad period is, in my opinion, duplicity. Never indeed has history recorded so many acts of treason, so much perfidy. This age, in other respects so rude, exhibited ingenuity only in the art of deception. It delighted in subtleties. In all engagements, and even in the code of chivalrous honour, there lurk equivocations which self-interest could easily turn to account. Oaths were lavished upon all occasions, in the most ordinary transactions, and accompanied by the most solemn ceremonies, and yet they were viewed as mere formalities sanctioned by custom. He who pledged his faith, his hand laid upon the Holy Gospels, would not be trusted, unless he delivered up his wife and children, above all, his fortresses as hostages ; and indeed this last pledge was always considered the only true test. Distrust was universal, and every man regarded his neighbour as his enemy. The nobles never quitted their castles without being attended by a number of men-at-arms ; the peasant went to the fields his lance upon his shoulders,* for every man, and especially every fellow-countryman was justly an object of suspicion. He who had been injured was to be feared, but still more, perhaps, he who had been loaded with benefits. Prudence was the only virtue practised. The men of the fourteenth century lived apart like

* Cortès de Valladolid, art. I. Orden. contra los ladrones y malhechores.

beasts of prey, and that energy, that strength of will which we now admire in them, they probably owed to a consciousness of their own bad faith, which constantly reminded them that they neither had, nor could expect to have any human succour but that of their own strong arm.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF ALFONSO, FATHER OF DON PEDRO.
1308 TO 1350.

I.

DON ALFONSO of Castile, the eleventh of that name and the father of Don Pedro, was a truly great king. Ever since the death of San Fernando,* Castile had been a prey to continual anarchy; weak princes and long minorities had combined to increase in the highest degree the insolence of the Ricos Hombres, and whilst these contended for pre-eminence, that is to say, for the exclusive privilege of pillaging the country, the towns-people and peasants, maddened by the excess of their misery, rose in all parts and revenged themselves by sanguinary attacks upon their oppressors. A contemporary author has left us the following picture of the condition of Castile on the accession of Don Alfonso.

"Now you must know that there was sufficient cause to fear that the king's towns and other places in the kingdom should receive great hurt, and be entirely destroyed; for the Ricos Hombres and cavalleros, lived by the robberies and extortions which they practised in the land, and the king's guardians lent them assistance

* This happened in 1252.—*T.*

for the sake of having theirs in return. But whenever one of these Ricos Hombres or cavalleros renounced the friendship of one of the guardians, the latter immediately destroyed the towns, and slew the vassals of his former friend, declaring that he was justified in thus retaliating upon the traitor the evil he had done when in his service. You must bear in mind, that while he remained his friend, he was allowed to do as he listed. Moreover, the people of the towns were banded together in hostile factions, as well in those places which supported the guardians, as in those which were opposed to them. In towns obedient to the said guardians, the most powerful oppressed the others, not merely to obtain the means of becoming independent, but to get rid of their own private enemies. In the towns which did not recognize the guardians, those who had the authority took the king's rents, and with them maintained men-at-arms, who trampled upon the poor, and taxed them without mercy. Whence it happened, that in such towns, and for the causes above stated, several artificers rose at the cry of "Commons!" killing their oppressors, and seizing and confiscating their property. Then too in no part of the kingdom was justice duly administered, so that persons did not dare to go out upon the high way, unless well armed, and in sufficient numbers to defend themselves against the marauders. In places which were not fortified—no one would live, whilst in such as were, the greater part subsisted only by robbery and plunder, in which many of the townspeople, artificers as well as hidalgos, joined; so great, indeed, was the general lawlessness, that no

one marvelled at meeting with dead bodies in the roads, neither could the continual thefts, larcenies, wrongs, and injuries of all kinds committed both in town and country, excite surprise. Still the guardians daily imposed new taxes, and burdens too heavy to be borne, whereby good towns became wastes, as also the villages of the Ricos Hombres and cavalleros."*

Such was the sad condition of Castile when Don Alfonso took the government into his own hands. He felt equal to his high station, and determined to be a king in very deed. At first, having no adherents of his own, he was obliged to accept the assistance of one of the factions which were desolating his kingdom; thus borrowing power from one to destroy the others. Afterwards, when the great vassals, who had furnished him with the means of enforcing his authority, exacted a reward for their services, he found that he was strong enough to command instead of purchasing obedience. At once uniting severity with clemency, he made an example of the most factious, but pardoned others so soon as he had proved to them his superiority, and had forced them to sue for mercy. His first successes did not blind him to the inveteracy of the evil he had resolved to eradicate; he saw that he must provide a safety valve for the restless and perturbed spirits of his nobility. His Ricos Hombres, although incorrigible rebels in time of peace, were docile soldiers in time of war, and Alfonso, by leading them against the Moors of Granada, turned to his own advantage, and the aggrandizement of his kingdom, the very weapons which for

* "Cronica de Don Alfonso," p. 78.

a long period had been only wielded in civil dissensions. At the approach of the formidable tempest now threatening them, the Andalucian Moors applied to their African brethren for assistance. There was at that period in Barbary a powerful prince called Abdul-Hassan,* who, having reduced to submission all the petty Mahommedan despots, his neighbours, now formed the design of carrying his arms beyond the straits. He sent into Andalucia an African army, superior in force to that which five centuries before had

* Mariana describes him as being a remarkable man, endowed with many good and great qualities. It is curious to notice the humble terms in which the King of Granada implores assistance of this Barbarian monarch. "In Spain, most potent prince, we can hardly sustain any war, so entirely are the resources of our realm exhausted, so utterly is the glory of our people darkened; nor can it easily be decided whether the times or ourselves are in fault. Driven into the farthest corner of Andalucia, and surrounded by every species of misery we can with difficulty preserve our liberty and lives; and, though I blush to say it, we would gladly live in subjection were it permitted us, under just and tolerably fair conditions, but that we know, by bitter experience, that there is no religion, no solemn form of oath, that can oblige our enemies to keep faith with us. They make inroads upon us every year, set fire to our fields, desolate our villages, maltreat our women, our children, and our aged; we have no power to breathe, and it would be better for us to die at once than to endure a life so full of danger and misery. In these our troubles and misfortunes, we have been supported hitherto by the hope we repose in thy unequalled valour, generosity, and good fortune; and it is this hope that has brought me from my kingdom into Africa to cast myself at thy feet. All that shall be gained by this war shall be thine; I will be contented with that portion of the spoil which it shall please thee to allot me. Mariana, Lib. XVI, cap. I.—*T.*

subjugated the whole Peninsula. Alfonso showed himself a worthy successor of Pelayo and San Fernando. In periods of common danger, courage and resolution readily obtain the most absolute obedience. The Commons of Castile, whom he had freed from civil war, and the exactions of the Ricos Hombres, provided the king with soldiers, and generously placed all their resources at his disposal for the terrible contest which was again to decide the fate of Spain. Following the example of Charles Martel, Alfonso did not hesitate to require of the clergy sacrifices which, at any other time, would have compromised the tranquillity of the kingdom. But his cause was righteous, he was beloved by the people, he was valiant and just, and thus not a voice was raised to oppose him.* From his neighbours the kings of Portugal and Aragon, he obtained but slight assistance, still their banners following his own seemed to pay him homage as vassals, and to recognise the supremacy of Castile.

On the 29th October, 1340, the two armies met upon the shores of the Rio Salado, not far from Tarifa, and victory declared for the Christians. Two hundred thousand Africans, it is said, lay dead upon the battle-field,† and Spain was for ever delivered from the fear of a Mussulman invasion.

Following up his success, Alfonso attacked and took, after a long siege, the town of Algeziras. He would have robbed the infidels of their first conquest, Gibraltar, which town secured their communication with Africa; but, unfortunately at the very moment he ima-

* "Cortes de Valladolid, Ord. de Prelados," art. I, II, V.

† Of the Christians, on the contrary, it is said that not more than twenty fell. Mariana, Lib. XVI. cap. 7.—*T.*

gined himself master of this last stronghold of Arabian power, an epidemic disease, the famous black plague,* which for several years had ravaged Europe, broke out in his army with extraordinary violence. The Castilian monarch, who shared every hardship with his soldiers, was attacked by this scourge and sank under it. He died in the flower of his age, on Good Friday, the 27th of March, 1350.

All Spain was struck with dismay ;† the Moors themselves testified their admiration for their formidable enemy; they ceased hostilities with the Spanish army which retired from before the ramparts, carrying away the coffin of its king; and the terror inspired by the name of Alfonso seemed to dictate that treaty of peace, so advantageous to the Christians, which was concluded soon after the raising of the siege of Gibraltar.‡

To comprehend thoroughly the consequences of Alfonso's death, it is necessary to be acquainted with the principal persons called to play a part on the occasion of this sad event. Alfonso left only one legitimate son, Don Pedro, then little more than fifteen years of age; his mother, Doña Maria, was an Infanta of Portugal, and daughter of King Alfonso IV., surnamed the

* Ayala, "Cron. de Don Pedro," p. 8. The great black plague is known to all the world through the pages of Boccaccio. Froissart has briefly chronicled it. "At this time," he says, "there prevailed throughout the world generally a disease called epidemy, which destroyed a third of its inhabitants."—*T.*

† Conde relates that the knights of Granada put on mourning for him, saying, that he was a noble prince, and one that knew how to honour his enemies as well as his friends. *Hist. de los Arabes*, tome III., p. 1.—*T.*

‡ Ayala, p. 12, (Abreviada).

Brave. Policy alone had prompted this union, and it proved an unhappy one. A short time after the marriage,* Doña Leonor de Guzman, a young widow, belonging to an illustrious family in Seville, had acquired the most absolute dominion over the King's mind. From the time that Doña Maria had given Castile an heir, in 1334, she was completely neglected by her husband, while Doña Leonor, on the contrary, was Alfonso's confidant in all his projects. She appeared with him in public, it was in her presence that the officers of justice and chief magistrates despatched their business, it was to her that they were accountable during the king's absence. "She presented her hand to be kissed," says a chronicler, "as if she had been a *señora proprietaria* of the kingdom of Castile."†

By her strength of intellect, and decision of character, the favourite showed herself not unworthy of her lofty position; and the king perhaps owed to her wise counsels some portion of his success. She had taken care to surround herself with her relations and friends, and the principal offices of state were in their hands. She had obtained the grant of an immense domain, many a castellated fortress, and numerous vassals. After the death of her brother, Don Alonso Mendez, Master

* In 1329. "Cron. de Don Alfonso," XI. p. 166.

† E quando el rei ia fora do reino os officiaes de justiza e da chancellaria ficavâm com ella como senhora do stado de Castella et faziâo o que ella mandava. E como as mais das mulheres saô naturalmente vâas e ambiciosas, moormente as daquelle stado de vida errada, assi dava a mâo à beijar como senhora proprietaria do reino de Castella. *Chronicas dos reis de Portugal, de Duarte Nuñez do Liaõ*, t. II. p. 95.

of Santiago, she retained the seal of the order, and transacted all the business connected with it herself.* Perez Ponce, one of her relatives, was Master of Alcantara. She had thus two petty armies always at her command.

Leonor had borne the king ten children, nine boys and one girl, all of whom were magnificently apanaged. Don Enrique, the eldest of this numerous race of bastards, was born in 1332, and raised to the dignity of first subject of the king of Castile. When quite a child he had a magnificent establishment of his own, the princely domain of Trastamara,† and bore the title of Conde, (Count), which was at that period a very rare distinction, and almost exclusively reserved for members of the royal family. Don Enrique's twin brother, Don Fadrique, when hardly ten years of age, had been nominated Grand Master of Santiago. By forcing this election upon the knights, Don Alfonso hoped at once to ensure his son a high position in the kingdom, and to attach to his crown a powerful order, which, if governed by an ambitious chief, might occasion him serious annoyance.

Don Enrique and Don Fadrique accompanied their father on his expedition against Gibraltar, and under his eyes made their first campaign, whilst the Infante, Don Pedro, the rightful heir to the crown, remained at

* Bulario de Santiago, July 15, 1350. *See* the note of Señor de Llaguno.—Ayala, p. 22.

† The name is differently spelt in the manuscripts which have been brought under my notice. In the charters preserved in the Archives of Aragon we find *Trestamera*, *Trastamera*, and *Trastamena*. I have adopted the orthography of the present day.

Seville, far from the din of war, a daily witness of the humiliations heaped upon his mother, and totally neglected by the courtiers, who were then, as always, too eager to regulate their conduct by their sovereign's example. He might have been taken for the son of an eastern despot fated to pine away his youth within the precincts of a gilded prison. He beheld his two brothers arrayed in shining cuirasses, and attended by waving banners and men at arms, sharing the perils and glories of war, whilst he remained idle amidst a deserted court, to mourn over his own, and his mother's injuries.

The impressions of youth are deep and abiding. The first feelings which Don Pedro experienced were those of jealousy and hatred; brought up by an insulted and weak-minded woman, he received from her lessons in dissimulation, and learned to form projects of revenge.

Don Alfonso's age, strength, and hardy constitution had promised a long life. His unexpected death suddenly awakened a host of conflicting and ambitious schemes. By the laws of Castile, which fixed the king's majority at the age of fifteen, Don Pedro immediately succeeded his father; but as yet incapable of governing alone, he could not avoid giving his counsellors the authority of guardians. Into whose hands would the chief power fall? who would be the fortunate minister destined to rule in the name of the young prince? These questions were canvassed by the whole nobility, who, restrained for a long time by the firmness of Don Alfonso, now prepared to throw off the yoke, trusting to the weakness of his successor.

Don Alfonso was too prudent not to keep the most powerful, in other words, the most dangerous of his Ricos Hombres near his person, especially during his military expeditions; thus, in his camp before Gibraltar were assembled all those great personages who, by the extent of their domains, and the number of their vassals, held the first rank amongst the Castilian nobility, all those, in a word, whom public opinion pointed out as fitted to assume the direction of affairs. The principal were Don Juan Alonso de Alburquerque, and Don Juan Nuñez de Lara, Lord of Biscay. The first, one of those Ricos Hombres, who held lands in several kingdoms, was born in Portugal, and related to the royal family of that country. He had abandoned his native land and quitted the service of his natural suzerain in order to offer his sword and his counsels to Don Alfonso, at the very time when this prince having determined to compel his great vassals to return to their allegiance, had commenced by attacking Don Juan Nuñez de Lara, the most powerful of them all.

At this period Don Alfonso had not yet developed his military genius; and fortune seemed to fluctuate between the King of Castile and his rebellious Ricos Hombres. Without caring to know whether Alburquerque had been actuated by generous motives or political foresight,* Don Alfonso never forgot the

* Mariana imputes to Alburquerque none but interested motives, and views his whole career as that of a time-server. It appears that he and Pedro Fernandez de Castro, were at this very period in treaty with the King of Portugal, soliciting that monarch to make war upon Castile; but that on hearing that Lerma was terribly straitened for provisions, and that Don Juan Manuel, the most

timely succour he had received from the Portuguese; he loaded him with benefits, entrusted him with the education of his heir presumptive, and admitted him into the number of his privy counsellors. Raised to the dignity of Grand Chancellor and Prime Minister to the King of Castile, Alburquerque with rare prudence totally abstained from taking any decided part against either the queen or the favourite. Notwithstanding his circumspection, he was considered by Leonor as a dangerous adversary, but although he declined entering the lists against one whom the king's affection rendered too unequal an antagonist, he made himself respected by all parties, and without compromising his own interest, became protector to the deserted queen, who readily yielded to him her entire confidence.

Don Juan Nuñez de Lara was a member of the royal house of Castile, being son of the Infante Don Fernando de la Cerda, and grandson of Don Alfonso X.*

powerful of the rebel chiefs, had narrowly escaped falling into Alfonso's hands, Alburquerque changed his plans, and at once offered his services to the King of Castile, leaving the King of Portugal to his own resources.—*T.*

* The eldest son of Alfonso X., Fernando de la Cerda, owed that surname to a natural mark, covered with hairs, that he had between his shoulders. He died during the lifetime of his father, leaving two sons, Don Alfonso and Don Fernando, who bore the same surname. Don Sancho, the second son of Alfonso X. claimed the title of heir presumptive to the crown of Castile, to the prejudice of the two Infantes de la Cerda, his nephews, and the representatives of their father. His intrigues, his personal qualities, the arbitration of the kings of Aragon and Portugal, lastly the solemn decision of the Cortes of Segovia in 1273, obtained him the crown. After several attempts to assert his rights, the Infante Don Alfonso de la Cerda, consented to a formal renunciation of them in 1305.

His wife, daughter of an Infante of Castile,* had received for her dowry the lordship of Biscay, a considerable province distinguished from the rest of the kingdom by the peculiar manners, laws, and language of its inhabitants. At first he placed himself at the head of the nobility who had revolted from Don Alfonso; but after the severe lesson his attempt had cost him,† he became a faithful subject, and seemed to have lost the restless temper of his youth. Touched by the king's generosity in the hour of victory, he frankly attached himself to his person. His opposition was in the first instance overcome by force, the chivalric virtues of Don Alfonso completed the conquest. His new devotion went even so far as to make him forget the pride of his race, and he had consented to marry his niece, Doña Juana de Villena to Don Enrique de Trastamara, and his eldest daughter to Don Tello, the third of Doña Leonor's sons.

By the side of these two nobles, already past the prime of life, both skilful captains and sagacious politicians, there appeared a young man, whose high birth, rather than his personal merit, called him to take

* The title Infante (*infanzone*), which was reserved for the younger branches of the royal family, was formerly analogous in meaning to the old English word "Childe," and synonymous with hidalgo. The romances of the Infantes of Lara, and the Infantes of Carrion, suffice to prove the importance and antiquity of the term; whilst those of "the Infantina," the "Infanta Celidonia," and several might be adduced, as showing how early it became appropriated to personages of royal blood.—*T.*

† He was besieged by the king in the castle of Lerma, and obliged to surrender at discretion, in 1335.—*Cronica de Don Alfonso XI.* p. 323.

a prominent part in the revolutions which could be only too well foreseen. This was Don Fernando, Infante of Aragon, Marquis of Tortosa, and Lord of Albarracin.* He was the son of Doña Leonor, sister to Alfonso of Castile, and second wife of the late King of Aragon, Alfonso IV. After some ineffectual attempts to create a party in Aragon, finding that he had incurred the suspicions of his brother, Pedro IV., the reigning sovereign, he had retired into Castile with his mother and a brother on the mother's side, called Don Juan. In 1347, when the kingdom of Valencia and some other provinces rose against Pedro IV., Don Fernando offered to head the rebels.† He was defeated at the battle of

* A small province, now dependant upon the kingdom of Aragon. The town of Albarracin, situated among rugged mountains, was one of the strongest in Spain. Its lords for a long time defended their independence against the kings of Castile and Aragon.

The occasion of the quarrel between Pedro IV and his half-brother was this. The late King, Alfonso IV., surnamed the Pious, yielding to the urgent entreaties of Queen Leonor, had promised to give her sons, Fernando and Juan, several important places, amongst others, Orihuela, afterwards the subject of violent contentions between Pedro of Castile and Pedro of Aragon, Albarracin, before mentioned, and Orviedro. The heir to the throne considered himself deeply injured by this arrangement, as tending to contract a kingdom of already small extent, and reproached his father with the breach of an oath which he had, many years previously sworn at Daroca, to alienate thenceforth no part of the royal domains.—*T.*

† Several great towns, amongst others Zaragoza and Valencia, as well as a considerable number of Aragonese and Valencian Ricos Hombres had formed a league called the Union; the object of which was the mutual protection of their rights and privileges. The Valencians demanded institutions as liberal

Epila, but had the good fortune to be taken prisoner by some Castilian auxiliaries of Pedro IV., who, instead of delivering him up to his brother, brought him to the court of Don Alfonso. An alien to Castile by birth, and to Aragon by the banishment to which he was condemned after his unsuccessful enterprise, he still remained a distant pretender to those two crowns, and preserved his illusory importance by seeing every faction ready to make use of his name to advance its private interests.

The accession of a king only fifteen years of age,* could not but augment the authority of Alburquerque, who governed the queen-mother. Don Juan de Lara, then in Andalucia, and at a distance from the northern provinces, where his political influence most prevailed, was not in a position to contest the government with him. Moreover, the Lord of Lara was weary of civil dissensions, and feeling certain that his independence would be respected by a weak government, surrounded

as those then existing in Catalonia and Aragon. The leaguers, accusing the king of partiality for his Catalan subjects, obliged him to banish from his counsels Don Bernal de Cabrera, his minister, and most faithful servant, and to recognize Don Fernando as his heir, to the prejudice of his own daughter. They kept him for some time a prisoner within the walls of Valencia; but, during his captivity, Pedro IV. had the art to gain over the principal chiefs of the Union. Immediately after he had effected his escape, he revoked all the concessions which had been wrung from him, and soon after destroyed the league by totally defeating the rebels at Epila.

* Don Pedro was born at Burgos the 30th of August, 1333. *Cronica de Don Alfonso XI.* p. 269.

with perils, he relinquished all thoughts of raising fresh difficulties in the way of a son of the prince, whose most devoted admirer and subject he had been. Lastly, Alburquerque openly sought his alliance, and offered to share with him the authority which the death of Alfonso had placed in his hands.

CHAPTER III.

THE ACCESSION OF DON PEDRO. 1350.

I.

ALL parties were now united against the favourite and her family, and she was threatened with the most terrible reverse of fortune. Hardly had Don Alfonso breathed his last sigh, than Doña Leonor, who had probably followed him to the camp before Gibraltar, thought it advisable to fly the vengeance of the queen-mother. Persuaded that henceforth Don Juan de Alburquerque would consider that he was no longer obliged to keep terms with her, she at once implored the protection of the Lord of Lara. But she was coldly received; and the only mark of interest Lara showed her, was the advice to provide for her personal safety by retiring to one of those fortified strongholds she had obtained from the late king. Leonor immediately hastened to Medina Sidonia.*

Whilst she remained shut up in the fortress, the

* Medina Sidonia, the city of Sidon, gives the ducal title to the descendants of Guzman el Bueno, Alcayde of Tarifa. Leonor, the mistress of Alfonso XI., and Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. of England, were descended from this renowned chieftain.—*T.*

army which was bringing the body of Don Alfonso from Gibraltar to Seville, entered the lower town. The favourite could now perceive the change that a single day had made in her fortunes. The governor of Medina Sidonia, who, to use the expression peculiar to the Middle Ages, *held* the fortress for Doña Leonor, his relative,* requested, or rather summoned her to accept the renunciation of the homage which he owed her as the Señora proprietaria of that place. This was plainly announcing to her that her cause was desperate. The governor of Medina Sidonia, Alonso Fernandez Coronel, was however a gallant knight, renowned for his prowess and loyalty, besides being personally attached to the Lara faction. Leonor vainly endeavoured to retain him in her service, she was, however, unable to induce him to change his resolution, and which was still more strange, amongst so many Ricos Hombres and knights, who during Alfonso's lifetime had vied with each other in protesting their entire devotion to her, not one was found who would accept the command of her castle. Moreover, the most alarming intelligence was brought to her from all quarters. Alburquerque had just arrested her two sons, Don Enrique and Don Fadrique, apparently intending to sacrifice them to the hatred of Maria, the queen-mother. Some of the favourite's enemies even accused her of conspiring against the new king, and of claiming the crown for her eldest son; by virtue of a pretended marriage with Don Alfonso.†

* Torres y Tapia, p. 65, Tome. II.—*Cron de Alcant.*

† Rades, "Cronica de Alcantara," p. 26, really attributes this extraordinary design to Doña Leonor. It seems to me evident that it was only an invention of her enemies; for at no period

Doña Leonor, terrified by this sudden and entire desertion, and trembling for her children, offered to deliver her castle up to Don Juan de Alburquerque, requesting only as the price of her submission a safe-conduct to Seville. This was readily granted, and, according to her desire, the Lord of Lara guaranteed that it should be respected. By thus humbling herself, she perhaps hoped to conciliate her ancient rival or more probably she wished to secure the sums of money and the rich jewellery she had received from Don Alfonso, and which had been deposited at Seville. Her sons, who had accompanied the funeral procession as far as Medina Sidonia were seized with sudden terror, and secretly quitting the army, attended only by a few devoted followers, hastened without waiting their mother's concurrence to take refuge in the Castle of Moron, which belonged to their relative, Perez Ponce, the Master of Alcantara. Thence, after a short deliberation, Don Enrique hastily repaired to Algeziras, where the Lord of Marchena, Pero Ponce, brother to the Master of Alcantara, was governor, while at the same time Don Fadrique set out for Montanches, a fortress belonging to the order of Santiago, and in his character of Master, ordered the gates to be opened.* Alvar de Guzman, a cousin of Leonor, shut himself up in Olvera, and Perez Ponce assembled his knights and vassals at Moron, there to devise some

did Don Enrique seek to assert any rights that he would have had as legitimate son of Don Alfonso. Compare with Torres y Tapia.—Crón. de Alcántara, II. p. 70 and following.

* Rades, "Crón. de Alcántara." Compare with the "Cronica de Santiago" of the same author, p. 45.

plan of action, or sustain a siege. All the relatives of the favourite hastened to fortify their castles, to summon their men-at-arms, and prepare as best they could for a civil war. On the other hand, Alburquerque and Queen Maria, after having celebrated the obsequies of Don Alfonso, proclaimed Don Pedro King of Castile, and hastened to arrange his household and fill up the vacant offices.*

II.

There were at first but few changes. Whilst on the brink of a civil war, which seemed inevitable, it would have been dangerous to excite the discontent of those nobles who were as yet undecided, by a general dismissal. The majority of the great offices remained therefore in the

* The following, according to Ayala, are the names of some of the great officers of the crown at the accession of Don Pedro. Don Juan Nuñez de Lara, Alferez Mayor (Grand Standard bearer) and Grand Major Domo; Don Garci Laso de la Vega, Grand Adelantado (lieutenant-general) of Castile, in the room of Fernando Perez Puerto Carrero, nominated Governor of the palace in the stead of the preceding; Gutier Fernandez de Toledo, Guarda-Mayor (or Captain of the guard) vice Lope Diaz de Almazan. Alonso Fernández Coronel, Chief Cup-bearer; Perez Suarez of Toledo, Lord High Chamberlain; Pero Suarez of Toledo the younger, Repostero Mayor (Mayor of the palaçe); Don Fernando de Aragon, Adelantado of the frontier, in the room of Don Fadrique, commander-general of the troops on the Granadine frontier; Don Fernando Manuel de Villena, Adelantado of Murcia; Don Juan de Alburquerque, Grand Chancellor and Treasurer. The Lord of Villena, Garci Laso and Alonso Coronel, were the creatures of Don Juan Nuñez. The others may, perhaps, be considered as more or less openly attached to Don Juan de Alburquerque. *See* Ayala, p. 17.

hands of the existing ministers, and only those persons were removed who by their absence from Seville at the time of the king's funeral, had justly incurred the imputation of disloyalty. Favours were equally divided amongst the adherents of the houses of Alburquerque and Lara. It was remarked that the late governor of Medina Sidonia, Alonso Coronel, obtained the lordship of Aguilar, with the title and privileges of Rico Hombre, evidently as a reward for his prompt renunciation of the homage which he owed Doña Leonor.* In conferring upon him this new dignity, Alburquerque proved to every one that he and Don Juan Nuñez had alike resolved to humble the faction of the fallen favourite, and in the political alliance of the two most powerful nobles of Castile might easily be foreseen the certain failure of all attempts on the part of the disaffected.

The Infante of Aragon was not forgotten in the division of the principal offices. He received the command of the Andalucian frontier, an important trust which placed a considerable body of troops under his command, and which, in the reign of Don Alfonso, had nominally belonged to Don Fadrique. Thus enriched with the spoils taken from the bastards, the Infante declared against their faction.

Whilst the nobility on all sides took up arms, the people, recollecting the terrors of the civil war which had rent the kingdom during the minority of Don Alfonso, regarded with indignation all attempts to disturb a peace so lately and so dearly bought, and thus the

* Ayala, p. 67.

sons of Leonor obtained but little sympathy in the towns. Don Enrique was coldly received at Algeziras, and vainly endeavoured to raise suspicions against the policy of the new sovereign, or rather that of his minister; indeed, nothing but the dread his men-at-arms inspired, would have induced the citizens to make preparations to defend the town. Meanwhile, an esquire of the king's, dispatched from Seville, managed to enter Algeziras secretly, and defeating the vigilance of the mercenaries belonging to the Conde de Trastamara, succeeded in negotiating privately with the principal citizens, and in obtaining from them a promise to declare for Don Pedro, on the first opportunity. All the gates of the city being guarded, he found means, by the help of a cord, to slide down the ramparts, and immediately returned to Seville, announcing that it would only be necessary to unfurl the royal flag in front of Algeziras to drive out the rebels.

A few days after, some galleys, commanded by Gutier Fernandez of Toledo, appeared unexpectedly in the port. At the cry raised by the crews of the vessels of "Castile! Don Pedro for ever!" the citizens reply with enthusiasm, and rush armed into the street. The Conde de Trastamara and his soldiers had only just time to mount their horses and escape into the country.* A few nobles amongst his partisans had already been seduced by the promises of Alburquerque, and drew near Seville, to treat with the king on their own account. The draw-bridges were everywhere lowered at the approach of the royal banner. The sons

* Ayala, p. 20.

of Leonor were soon convinced that civil war was impossible. After a few days' hesitation, Don Enrique, Don Fadrique, and the Master of Alcantara, losing all hope of creating a party, thought only how they might obtain pardon and bury their imprudent assumption of arms in oblivion.

Alburquerque was not yet sufficiently powerful to dare to treat with severity the sons of his benefactor, or perhaps he did not deem such a course necessary. Relying upon the friendly assurances of the minister, Don Enrique and his brother entered Seville, and were without difficulty allowed to pay their homage to the new king.* Don Fadrique sent in his submission, and was allowed to remain for the present at Llerena, a town belonging to his order. A promise was given to the repentant rebels that the past should be forgotten; they were even suffered to retain their pensions and employments; their lands were not confiscated, nor was even a fine levied, Alburquerque only exacted the surrender of a few castles, amongst others, that of Moron, which the Master of Alcantara was obliged to yield to a secular governor.† Furthermore, the knights of Alcantara were forced to take oath not to receive their Master, Perez Ponce, into the fortresses belonging to their order, without the express permission of the king.‡

Alburquerque, despising the youth of Don Enrique

* July, 1350.

† The revenues of this place were for a short time sequestrated, but were restored to him on his submission. Rades, "Cron. de Alcánt." I, 18.

‡ Id. ibid. Ayala, p. 23.

and Don Fadrique, affected to look upon them merely as refractory boys, for whom a reprimand was sufficient punishment; he reserved the full weight of his resentment for their mother, Doña Leonor, who, notwithstanding the safe-conduct she had obtained, was shut up in the Alcazar of Seville, and treated as a state prisoner. She was, however, allowed to communicate with her sons. Amongst her attendants was Doña Juana de Villena, niece of Don Juan Nuñez, and betrothed to the Conde de Trastamara. By this marriage Leonor hoped irrevocably to unite the interests of the powerful house of Lara with those of her sons. But the Lord of Villena, nephew of Don Juan Nuñez, had now determined to break off the alliance planned in the last reign, and to offer his sister either to the Infante Don Fernando of Aragon, or to the young king himself. Leonor, however, in the obscurity of her prison, still plotting the advancement of her family, had the art to defeat these projects. She exercised an absolute sway over the mind of the young heiress of Villena, who had for a long time been accustomed to regard her as a mother, and thus it was not difficult to secure her obedience and secrecy.

The marriage of Don Enrique and Doña Juana was celebrated and consummated in the same palace which served Leonor as a prison, before any of the parties interested in preventing it were apprised of the fact.* When some hours later, the queen and Don Juan de Alburquerque discovered how they had been outwitted by their captive, their resentment knew no

* Ayala, p. 25.

bounds. Doña Leonor was treated more rigorously than ever; she was separated from her son, and taken to the Castle of Carmona, where she was closely confined. As for Don Enrique, he was upon his guard, and did not wait the vengeance of his enemies; he secretly quitted Seville, carrying away with him a quantity of jewellery which his mother had contrived to place in his hands. Accompanied by two faithful cavalleros, Pero Carrillo and Men Rodriguez de Señabria,* all three wearing leather masks, as was the custom of the period, he traversed by forced marches the whole length of Spain without being arrested or even recognised, and after enduring many hardships, at last gained the Asturias, where he hoped to find safety among his faithful vassals.†

II.

Peace was re-established in Castile, and the impotency of the efforts made by the bastards seemed to have no other result than to confirm it, when an unexpected event had the effect of throwing the kingdom into fresh convulsions, and of reviving the jealousy of the several factions which shared the government amongst them. A few weeks after his accession, the young king was attacked by an illness so serious as to endanger his life. The confident

* *Men* appears to have been an honorary title peculiar to some provinces of Spain. It corresponds to the French *Messire*, the Castilian *Don*, and the Catalonian *En*, with this difference, that *Men* precedes a patronymic, whilst *Don* and *En* are only placed before a prænomen.

† Ayala, p. 26.

expectation of his decease, the failure of a direct heir to the crown, and the uncertainty or obscurity of the laws and customs relative to the succession, opened a career to many ambitious intriguers. Already the Ricos Hombres and the Commons were divided into two camps, and preparations for war were openly made. A lingering feeling of respect for the dying monarch alone prevented an immediate outbreak.

During the continuance of Don Pedro's sickness, there was in reality no government in Castile; Alburquerque and the queen-mother were wholly engrossed in raising troops, and especially in amassing money for the casualties of the struggle which might commence at any moment. All payments out of the king's privy purse were suspended; nor was there any longer respect shewn to authority. The great officers of the crown levied exactions upon the receivers of the public revenues, in order, as they said, to re-imburse themselves for the unjust detention of their salaries.* There was a general pillage. No armies had yet appeared in the field, but bands of marauders overran the country in every quarter, and committed the grossest acts of violence with impunity.

The avowed pretenders to the Castilian throne were Don Fernando, Infante of Aragon, and Don Juan Nuñez de Lara. The first alleged the right of his mother, Doña Leonor, eldest sister to the late king, Don Alfonso, and solemnly recognized by the Cortes before the birth of this latter, as presumptive heiress

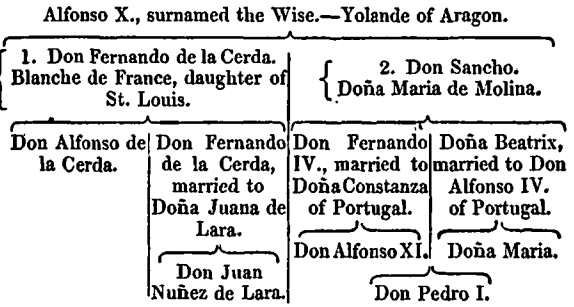
* "Cortes de Vall. ord. de Fijosdalgo," art. VII.

to the Castilian throne. As representative of his mother, Don Fernando was, in fact, the nearest heir in the collateral line. On his side, Don Juan de Lara revived pretensions already condemned by the fortune of war, and the decisions of National Assemblies, and reminded Castile that he was the great grandson of King Alfonso X.,* and the natural representative of the Infantes of La Cerda, the descendants of the elder son of that prince, who had been dispossessed by his younger brother, Don Sancho, and the kings who were his issue. At this period, the political rights of succession were not determined, and although Gothic customs attributed to the Cortes alone the right of nominating the heir to the crown, popular opinion began to consider that it ought to be transmitted from one to another in

* Alfonso X., surnamed the Wise, from his knowledge of astronomy and general literary attainments, ascended the Castilian throne in 1250. He aspired to the dignity of Emperor of Germany, but, if he really were elected, as appears doubtful, he never exercised the Imperial functions. Both he and Richard of Cornwall, his successful rival, were merely the tools of the electors. Alfonso X. is, however, principally known by the celebrated code of the Siete Partidas, which was framed by this prince. The law of the Visigoths had, till his reign, prevailed in Spain. Alfonso el Sabio, however, in his code introduced a portion of the Roman law. On his eldest son's death, the Cortes refused to recognize the Infantes de la Cerda, the king's grandsons, as heirs to the throne, to the exclusion of Don Sancho, Alfonso's second son, from which we may infer that the Castilians did not approve of the royal leg ilator's alteration of the laws of succession. Alfonso died in 1284, his latter years made miserable by the rebellion of his son, Don Sancho, he left the crown to the Infantes of La Cerda, a bequest which was a fruitful source of discord in Castile for the succeeding half century.—*T.*

a direct line. The Infante and Don Juan de Lara both solicited the hand of Queen Maria, mother of Don Pedro, who also had claims to advance, she being grand-daughter to Don Sancho and great grand-daughter to Alfonso X.* By this marriage, Don Fernando hoped to gain the support of the King of Portugal, the queen's father; while the Lord of Lara, uniting the two offshoots of the line of Alfonso X., expected to set at rest for ever the question of the legitimacy of the Kings of Castile, which, though long debated, yet remained undecided in the minds of the people, and still furnished an ostensible motive for intestine revolutions. However legitimate the rights of Don Fernando de Aragon might seem, founded as they were upon the decision of the Cortes, and the formal renunciation of the Infantes of La Cerda, his character as a foreign prince rendered his cause unpopular; it was, however, firmly upheld by Alburquerque, who, being jealous of the Lord of Lara, was

* For greater clearness, I subjoin a table of the descendants of Alfonso X.


Alfonso X., surnamed the Wise.—Yolande of Aragon.
1. Don Fernando de la Cerda. Blanche de France, daughter of St. Louis.
2. Don Sancho. Doña Maria de Molina.
Don Alfonso de la Cerda.
Don Fernando de la Cerda, married to Doña Juana de Lara.
Don Juan Nuñez de Lara.
Don Fernando IV., married to Doña Constanza of Portugal.
Doña Beatrix, married to Don Alfonso IV. of Portugal.
Don Alfonso XI.
Doña Maria.
Don Pedro I.

interested in placing upon the throne a weak prince, whom he might govern at his pleasure.

The northern provinces appeared favourable to the pretensions of Don Juan Nuñez. Burgos,* and several large towns of Old Castile, formerly attached to the party of the Infantes de la Cerda, waited impatiently the moment for openly espousing the cause of the heir of a house they had always loved. Garci Laso de la Vega, Adelantado of Castile,† one of the most influential Ricos Hombres in that province, was the most active agent of the Lord of Lara in the north, whilst Don Alonso Coronel placed himself at the head of his partisans in Andalucia, and even in Seville, and avowedly recruited an army for him. In the number of nobles engaged, the importance of their towns, the strength of their fortresses, and resources of all kinds, the party of the Laras had incontestably the

* Burgos then disputed precedency with Toledo over every city in the kingdom.

† The powers of the office of Adelantado are fully set forth in the laws of the Partidas. The Adelantado was next in dignity to the king, commander in chief of the troops of his province in time of war, and chief justice in time of peace. He was the first magistrate of the kingdom. "An Adelantado," says Dr. Southey in a note to his translation of the 'Chronicle of the Cid,' "was not allowed to marry any woman of the province over which he presided during his office. This law was enacted because the power which he possessed would have enabled him to marry any woman against the will of her friends, they not daring to refuse him. He was therefore allowed a *barragana*, as if this were not giving him greater power of mischief! but it did not affect the great families, and they were the only persons who were regarded." Latterly this office was converted into an hereditary dignity, and its privileges became purely honorary.—*T.*

advantage, and prepared for the struggle as for a certain victory.

The unexpected recovery of Don Pedro destroyed all these hopes; but it would not, perhaps, have prevented the two hostile factions from deciding their quarrel by force of arms, had not the sudden death of Don Juan Nuñez and that of his nephew, the Lord of Villena, at once deprived the Lara party of its acknowledged leaders. Both probably fell victims to the epidemic which then ravaged the Peninsula.* At any other time, the premature end of these two men, both in the prime of life, would doubtless have cast odious suspicions upon their adversaries. I do not, however, find in any contemporary author the slightest insinuation against Alburquerque, who was thus in one day delivered from two adversaries, who might have arrested the flight of his ambition. This involuntary respect for a personage exposed to so much jealousy and hatred is an honourable testimony, which ought to be registered as a rare exception to the manners of the fourteenth century, and which it would be manifestly unjust to impugn now.

Alburquerque, thus freed from Don Juan Nuñez, and having the Infante of Aragon and Queen Maria under his control, might henceforth imagine himself sole master of Castile. The young king took no part in the government. He evinced no interest in any other occupation than the chase, and passed whole days on horseback with his falcons and dogs, as indifferent to

* Don Juan Nuñez died at Burgos, whither he had probably gone to raise in his favour Old Castile, which province was much attached to his house.—Ayala, p. 29.

the good as to the evil which his ministers might commit in his name. No one yet understood his character, nor probably did he understand it himself. He had been brought up in seclusion, had betrayed no exclusive passion, no decided taste, except that for violent exercise, which is usual at his age. He was scarcely sixteen.

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNMENT OF ALBURQUERQUE.
1350 TO 1351.

I.

ACCORDING to an ancient custom, grown by prescription into a law, the Cortes ought to meet at the commencement of every reign, when the new king, who presided, would learn from the schedule of petitions presented for his examination, the abuses which had crept in under the rule of his predecessor, and the wants of the people he was about to govern. Accordingly, as soon as Don Pedro had recovered, the Cortes were convoked at Valladolid. It was not undesignedly that Alburquerque had decided upon holding the National Council in this city. On his road thither, the king would have to pass through provinces remarkable for their attachment to Don Juan Nuñez de Lara. It was expedient for the minister to show himself in public, accompanied by his sovereign, in order to prove his authority, and to make it respected. Perhaps also he had some private affront to avenge. Besides the neighbourhood of the Asturias, where, as was reported, the Conde de Trastamara had found a great number of partisans, justified the display of a considerable body of troops, who, according to Al-

burquerque's orders, were to accompany the king upon the occasion of this his first royal progress.

Leaving Seville at the commencement of the spring of 1351, the king first directed his steps towards Estremadura* for the purpose of receiving homage from his brother, Don Fadrique, who had not yet appeared at court, although he had sent in his allegiance at the same time that Enrique had solicited pardon in person. The interview took place at Llerena, one of the principal commanderies of Santiago, where the knights, apprized of the royal intentions beforehand, had assembled in great numbers from all parts of the kingdom. The Master welcomed his brother with the greatest demonstrations of respect, and offered him that magnificent hospitality which might be expected from the powerful order of which he was chief. At Llerena, the oath of fidelity and homage which had been taken a few months earlier at Seville by the knights of Alcantara, was exacted from the commanders of Santiago. It contained the same clause, which was still new, to wit, that the Master should not be received into the fortresses of the order but by the king's permission.† A monarchical tendency had already began to modify feudal institutions, and the power of the Masters, once unlimited, was gradually reduced to the petty authority

* Probably at this period the Roman roads were still in sufficient preservation to allow easy communication between the great cities of Spain. It may be seen by the "Itinerary" of Antoninus, that one of the principal roads between the northern and southern provinces, branches off from Italica and at Merida joins the road leading to the Pyrenees.

† Ayala, p. 35. Rades, *Cron. de Santiago*, p. 45.

of a great officer of the court. The knights had lost the right of electing their Masters,* whom it was

* Thus, in 1339, on the death of Don Vasco Rodriguez Cornado, Master of Santiago, the cavalleros of the order chose as his successor Don Vasco Lopez his nephew. But his election proving displeasing to the king, Alfonso XI., who desired the Mastership for his son, Don Fadrique, various irregularities were alleged to have taken place at the election. The new Master, perceiving that a storm was gathering over his head, repaired to Portugal, and in his absence he was deprived of the Mastership and his election annulled, Don Alonso Melendez de Guzman, uncle to the child Don Fadrique being chosen in his stead. Mariana, Lib. xvi. chap. 5.—About two years anterior to this occurrence, Don Ruiz Perez, Master of Alcantara, was deposed by the authority of Nuñez de Prado, Master of Calatrava, to whom, according to their ancient constitution, the knights of Alcantara were subject. A fresh Master, Don Gonzalo Martinez, was elected, and in his turn accused of various high crimes and misdemeanours. The king cited him to appear at Madrid and answer the charges brought against him; but Gonzalo Martinez, fearing the intrigues of Doña Leonor de Guzman, his professed enemy, went over to the king of Granada. He was subsequently taken prisoner, beheaded and burnt. Rades, "Cronica de Alcantara," chap. 17.—If a corresponding instance relative to the knights of Calatrava were required to prove the increasing subordination of the great military orders to the monarchy, this same reign of Alfonso XI. could supply us with an example. Don Garci Lopez, Master of Calatrava, was summoned by Alfonso to answer for having, during the king's minority, pillaged the country and encouraged disorder in the kingdom. Like Gonzalo Martinez, Garci Lopez fled. Don Juan Nuñez de Prado replaced Lopez, who, however, from his residence at Alcañizes in Aragon, exercised authority over so many of the cavalleros as would acknowledge it. On Lopez's death the schism continued, a successor to the late master being chosen at Alcanizes. Twenty years after the commencement of

desired should henceforth be nothing more than the king's lieutenants.

Don Pedro, or rather Alburquerque, in his name, after having assured Don Fadrique of his complete restoration to favour, dispensed, to use the chronicler's own words, with his presence at the Cortes convoked at Valladolid.* Whether the royal decision be attributed to the Master of Santiago's free choice, or to the suspicions of the minister, it must be regarded as a proof that the presence of the chiefs of the military orders, was customary in the general Cortes. We may infer, likewise, that their attendance depended to a certain extent, upon the will of the sovereign.

Queen Maria accompanied the king on this journey, dragging in her train the unfortunate Doña Leonor. Don Fadrique, her son, requested and obtained permission to see her. In the presence of the jailors, mother and son, both fallen from their high estate, threw themselves into each other's arms; and during the hour they were allowed to pass together, wept without uttering a word. Presently a page came to announce to Don Fadrique that the king expected him. After one last embrace, he quitted his mother never to see her more.† The fate of this unhappy woman had been decided. From

the dispute, it was agreed that the masters and knights should attend the Cortes of Saragossa, and abide by the decision of the King of Aragon? Pedro IV. decided in favour of Nuñez de Prado, stipulating however that the rival master, Juan Rodriguez, should retain the commandery of Alcañizes with an independent jurisdiction over all the cavalleros in Aragon.—*Mariana*, Lib. XVI. ch. XIV.—*T.*

* Ayala, p. 35.

† Idem, p. 36.

Llerena, by order of Alburquerque, she was removed to the castle of Talavera, which belonged to the queen-mother, and was held by Gutier Fernandez of Toledo, one of her liege men. Leonor did not long languish here; a few days after her arrival, a secretary of the queen brought the governor her death warrant. The execution took place privately, and there is no evidence that Don Pedro was acquainted with it. Doubtless, the queen had exacted from Alburquerque the sacrifice of her rival, now that she could no longer be protected by the compassion of Don Juan Nuñez de Lara. Then taking advantage of the weakness of the king her son, Maria of Portugal obtained possession of her rival's wealth; and thus the extensive domains which Don Alfonso had given to his mistress, devolved upon her who had just pronounced that mistress's doom.* "Several in the kingdom," says Ayala, "were grieved at this deed, foreseeing that it would give rise to war as well as to scandal; Leonor having sons grown up and powerfully connected."† But the hour of vengeance had not yet arrived, and the sons of Leonor bowed their heads before their mother's murderers.

Don Pedro quickly pursued his journey, and reached Valladolid before the arrival of the deputies from the towns. Under pretence of giving them time to assemble, Alburquerque led his royal pupil, attended by a small army, into several provinces of his king-

* The odium of the murder fell upon the queen, and the place where Leonor received her death-warrant, was henceforth called by the populace—Talavera de la Reyna.—*Mariana*, Lib. XVI. cap. XVI.—*T.*

† Ayala, p. 36.

dom. At first he directed his steps to Palencia, in the kingdom of Leon, the neighbourhood of Don Tello, Leonor's third son, who was scarcely fifteen years of age, and who, following the example of his elder brothers, kept aloof from the court, shutting himself up in the castle of Palenzuela. It was apprehended that he might offer some resistance, and to prevent this, Don Juan Garcia Manrique, a Rico Hombre of Castile, was despatched as envoy from Don Pedro, charged to renew the king's promises of good-will, and at the same time to gain over the knights, his advisers. Manrique succeeded in his mission, and brought Don Tello to Palencia. Following the advice of his guide, Don Tello ran to kiss his brother's hand. "Don Tello," said the king, "do you know that your mother, Doña Leonor, is dead?" "Sire," replied the youthful courtier, "I have no other father or mother than your Grace."*

II.

Alburquerque had succeeded easily with the young princes; he had now to prove the extent of his power over more formidable adversaries. The rich citizens of Burgos, he more especially threatened with his vengeance. The burgesses of this city, the most important of Old Castile, and the Ricos Hombres in league with them, took no pains to conceal their detestation of his government.

When Don Pedro's illness revealed the feelings of the whole kingdom towards the different pretenders

* Ayala, p. 37. "Señor', yo non he otro padre, nin otra madre, salvo a la vuestra merced." "The king," adds the knightly chronicler, "was much pleased with his brother's reply."—*Tr.*

to the crown, Burgos had openly declared for Don Juan Nuñez. At this time one of the principal adherents of that lamented chieftain, Don Garci Laso de la Vega, was at Burgos, with a numerous body of vassals and allies. On the approach of the king, Don Garci came out to receive him; they met four leagues from the city, near a hamlet called Celada. Garci Laso, in his feudal pride, was accompanied by a princely escort. His two sons-in-law. Ruy Gonzales de Castañeda and Pero Ruiz Carrillo,* with his grandson, Gomez Carrillo, brought a multitude of knights and esquires in their train; the major part poor relations, who, living upon his hospitality, and always ready in return to espouse his quarrels, were accustomed to obey him both as their chief in war, and as the acknowledged head of their house. There were not wanting those who were ready to point out this gallant retinue to the young king, as being intended rather to set him at defiance, than to do him honour.

At the very first interview, Manrique, a creature of Alburquerque, and the private enemy of Garci Laso, publicly exchanged haughty words with this noble, and even in the king's presence, a noisy brawl, doubtless anticipated and prepared for by the minister, ensued. The king imposed silence upon the two disputants, who this time were ready to obey; but the next morning, as they were preparing to march to Burgos, Garci Laso and his followers appeared armed, and in greater numbers than on the preceding day. Manrique and the knights in his train quickly donned

* The same, probably, who had accompanied Don Enrique in his flight.

their armour, and the two rival forces had already betrayed an inclination to charge, when the king appeared in person and again forbade the conflict. They were ordered to march in two distinct bodies, sufficiently apart from each other to avoid all opportunity of collision. The inhabitants of Burgos, however, having heard of these disturbances, sent a deputation to Celada, representing to the king the danger their city would incur by receiving within its walls two hostile factions at the same time, and to beg him to enter with only a small retinue. They added that the inhabitants would be much pained by the presence of Alburquerque within their town; the ill feeling with which that minister regarded them being too well known. These open remonstrances, although presented with the usual formulas of respect and humility, were displeasing to the young prince, who was ignorant of the privileges and liberties of the Commons, and had been taught by his mother and minister to believe that his will was to be sole law. Alburquerque found no difficulty in construing the message of the council of Burgos into a factious threat: "We must," he said, "give these arrogant burghers a lesson, and make an example of them, in order to intimidate those who might be inclined to imitate their presumption." He then told the deputation, in the king's name, that it was not the province of the Commons to regulate the escort of a King of Castile, and immediately afterwards Don Pedro and his little army marched towards the town with raised lances and colours flying.

Manrique preceded him with the advanced guard, and stationed his men in the Jews' quarter, which,

according to the custom of the age, was separated from the rest of the town by a strong wall, and consequently formed as it were an interior citadel. The citizens however offered no shew of resistance; a few only of those who had been most forward in the late embassy, alarmed by the large number of soldiers introduced within their ramparts, took advantage of the darkness to seek safety in flight, and dispersed themselves throughout the environs. Garci Laso, however, trusting to his great popularity and the devotion of his vassals, resolved to remain in Burgos, and made one of the Archbishop's palaces his residence, Don Pedro and his mother occupying another. Alburquerque had one quarter of the town assigned to him; Manrique remained in the Jewry. Thus might be seen four camps in Burgos, and it appeared as though all the several factions of the kingdom had repaired thither to adjust their differences.

On the night following the arrival of the king, an esquire, attached to the queen-mother, secretly entered Garci Laso's quarters, bringing a mysterious warning from that princess: "Whatever invitation he might receive he was to beware of appearing before the king." The proud Castilian took no notice of this friendly hint, and far from attributing it to a feeling of interest in his safety, felt persuaded that his enemies, dreading an open conflict, wished to keep him away in order to make their accusations in his absence. Early in the morning he entered the palace, attended by his son-in-law, his grandson, and a few gentlemen and burghers, the ordinary retinue of a great noble at that period. The gates were more than usually guarded, and throughout the whole palace might be remarked

mysterious preparations and unusual excitement. In the great hall, the king awaited him, seated upon the throne, and surrounded by esquires in the service of Alburquerque, all armed with swords and poniards,* and wearing coats of mail under their dress.

Hardly had GarciLaso appeared in the king's presence, than the queen-mother, in evident agitation, precipitately quitted the hall, followed by the Bishop of Palencia, her chancellor,† as though to avoid witnessing the scene of violence which she had anticipated. Her departure was the signal for action. Immediately some men at arms seized the three burghers,‡ who had entered with Garci Laso, and dragged them out of the hall. At the same time, Alburquerque, who was standing near the king, addressing an alcalde of the court, named Domingo Juan, said: "Alcalde, you know your duty." Then the alcalde advanced towards the king, and speaking in a low tone of voice, but still in the hearing of the minister, "Sire," he asked, "do you command me? I cannot act without your orders." The king in a hesitating voice, like one repeating a

* In the fourteenth century, the hidalgos only carried their long and heavy sword in war or on a journey. The cavalleros of the military orders were armed at all times.

† Don Vasco de Toledo, brother to Gutier Fernandez: later he was translated to the Archiepiscopal See of Toledo. The Toledo family, at this time, almost monopolized the great offices of the crown. One member, Gutier, was Guarda Mayor, Captain of the Guard; his brother, Vasco, was the Queen's Chancellor, and a second brother, Pero Suarez, First Lord of the Bed-Chamber. A son of the last was also Repostero Mayor.—*T.*

‡ Pero Fernandez de Medina, Alfonso Fernandez, Escribano (notary) and Alfonso Garcia de Camargo.

lesson that had been conned beforehand, cried out: "Ballesteros, arrest Garci Laso!" Three esquires* belonging to Alburquerque seized the Lord of Vega; he saw that his doom was sealed, but too proud to implore mercy, he said to the king: "Sire, be pleased to give me a priest to whom I may confess." Then turning towards one of the men who held him, "Ruy Fernandez, my friend," he said, "will you go to Doña Leonor my wife, and ask her for that indulgence from the Pope which is in her keeping."† The esquire refused to bear the message, but they brought the prisoner a priest who happened to be in the palace. Both were led by the ballesteros of the guard into a narrow passage looking out upon the street, and there the priest received the last confession of that stout old warrior who was now to die. At the same moment, the sons-in-law and grandsons of Garci Laso were arrested and confined in an apartment of the palace. Meanwhile Alburquerque was counting the last remaining moments of his victim, and soon growing impatient, told the king that it was time to issue the final decree. Don Pedro, accustomed to repeat the orders of his minister, desired two of Alburquerque's hidalgos to tell the prisoner's guard to dispatch him. The ballesteros, who were blind instruments of the king's will, distrusted an order transmitted by the servants of Alburquerque; and

* Alfonso Fernandez de Vargas, who was afterwards Señor de Burguillos, Rui Fernandez de Escobar and Fernand Garcia de Medina.—Ayala, p. 42.—*T.*

† "Rui Fernandez amigo, ruego vos que vayades a Doña Leonor mi muger é traedme una carta del Papa de absolucion que ella tiene."—*Ibid.*—*T.*

like the Alcalde Domingo, would receive it only from the lips of their master. One of them went to ask him what should be done with Garci Laso. "Kill him!" replied the king. There was no need for further scruples; the ballestero, now perfectly satisfied, hastened to the prisoner, and with a blow upon the head with his mace felled him to the earth. His comrades finished him with their daggers. The body of Garci Laso was thrown upon the grand square where the king's arrival was being celebrated after Castilian fashion by a bull-fight. The bulls trampled upon the corpse, tossing it several times with their horns. It was then exposed to the gaze of the multitude upon a scaffold, and there it remained the whole day. At last it was laid upon a bier, which was fixed upon the ramparts of Comparanda. This was the usual treatment of the bodies of great criminals.*

That same week the king whilst dining with Alburquerque, saw the three burghers, who had been arrested with Garci Laso, pass on their way to execution. Thus was the unhappy Don Pedro taught to rule. The inexorable minister had also thrown into prison Doña Leonor de Cornago, the wife of Garci Laso; but she had found time to confide her son to some faithful servants, who managed to convey him into the Asturias to the Conde de Trastamara. Terror now reigned at Burgos, and if any one had raised his voice to defend the liberties of the Commons, or to uphold the rights of Don Juan Nuñez, he would have found no place of refuge wherein to hide his head. Don Enrique himself was alarmed, and not daring to remain in the Asturias,

* Ayala, p. 37—43.

sought an asylum in the Portuguese territory. An act of grace, however, followed these severities; Manrique, as the price of his devotion to the minister, received the appointment of Adelantado of Castile, which office had been formerly held by Garci Laso.

It was not sufficient for Alburquerque that he had humbled and dispersed the Lara faction, he desired to exterminate the whole race of his enemy. Don Juan Nuñez had left two daughters; one of whom as we have seen was betrothed to Don Tello, and a son named Nuño, then only three years of age. This child, who had been confided to the care of Doña Mencia, a lady of good Biscayan family, was brought up at Paredes de Nava in the kingdom of Leon. When the report of the assassination of Garci Laso had reached this province, Doña Mencia, aware of the perilous situation in which her lord's heir was placed, hastened to remove him from the reach of his enemies.

Biscay, whose inhabitants were jealous of their independence, and much attached to the memory of their ancient chiefs, appeared to her the safest retreat; moreover her husband, Martin Ruiz de Avendaño,* had there possessed considerable influence. Accordingly she and her charge set out with as much secrecy as possible. But already were their footsteps traced by the emissaries of Alburquerque, and even by the king himself, whose unreflecting activity was always ready to second the cruel projects of his minister. Don Pedro pursued the noble child with the ardour of a hunter following up his prey; he hoped to overtake him at the passage of the Ebro. Happily the fugitives being some hours

* Ayala. p. 44. Compare with the Abreviada, p. 43, note.

in advance succeeded in breaking the bridge over which they had passed, and by that means gained, without interruption, the port of Bermeo, whence, in case of necessity, they might have embarked for Guyenne or the kingdom of France. The Biscayans, however, indignant at seeing the son of their late lord proscribed and persecuted, burst forth into loud complaints. A son of Doña Mencia, Juan de Avendaño, summoned his compatriots to arms, and established his party in those rugged mountains,* which constitute the im-

* "It appears, from various sources," writes Lord Carnarvon, in a note to his 'Portugal and Galicia,' "that the highland districts of Biscay, Alava and Guipuzcoa, were never subdued by the Romans, invincible on every other soil. For this reason, we cannot discover in those parts of the Basque provinces, any traces of the language and the laws, the customs or the religion of those masters of the world. Towards the close of the Neustrian empire, the Basques were celebrated for their military achievements, and over-ran and subjected, though they did not long retain, a large portion of France." *Michelet.* "Gascony tells its own tale, and is evidently a legacy bequeathed by the Basques, or Guasques, as they were then indiscriminately called. The Mahometan invaders were not more successful in their efforts against these highlanders of the north of Spain; among their rocks, for centuries, the persecuted faith of Christ found a secure asylum, when, except in the Asturias, the Crescent had almost everywhere in Spain replaced the Cross. From these wild fastnesses, the tide of Christianity that had ebbed so low, was destined to flow back over its lost domain, in a course of gradual and progressive triumph, till it had again no limits but the sea."

Don Rodrigo Toledano observes: "Saraceni totam Hispaniam occupaverunt gentes Gothicæ fortitudine jam contrita nec alicubi resistente, acceptis paucis reliquiis, quæ in montanis Asturiarum, Viscagiæ et Alavæ, Guipuzcoæ, Ruconiæ, et Aragoniæ remanserant, quas ideo Dominus reservavit ne lucerna Sanctoruminin Hispanis

pregnable citadels of the liberties of Biscay. It was a serious, almost a rash, enterprise, even for a king of Castile, to attack this courageous people, enthusiastically attached to their ancient independence, and invariably devoted to their national chiefs. Alburquerque was obliged to renounce his pursuit of the young Nuño; he brought the king back to Castile, leaving to Don Lope de Rojas, to whom he gave the title of *Prestamero Mayor*,* the care of negociating the surrender or removal of the heir of Lara. At the same time some troops, levied in the king's domains, bordering upon the frontiers, advanced to support the negociations. The mountaineers replied haughtily; a contest was inevitable; nevertheless, the war was not prosecuted with vigour on either side. The king's little army occupied several castles, which the insurgent peasants vainly attempted to take from them; however, at the end of a few months, after many ineffectual skirmishes, the child, who was the cause of the war, died suddenly at

coram Domino extingueretur."—*Rodrigo Toledano*, Lib. IV., cap. I.

"En las partes de los Pirineos, que están mas á la mar mayor y los contornos de estos lugares, que descienden en Guipuzcoa, y costeando el mar se estienden por Alaba y Bizcaya, quedaron los Christianos tan exemptos de los Moros como primero lo fueron de los Romanos."—*Bueter*, Lib. I., cap. XXX., quoted by Lord Carnarvon.

* A title corresponding in some respects to that of *vidame*; properly speaking, it belongs to a lay lord enjoying ecclesiastical benefices. The importance of this office and its emoluments varied according to the province. The *Prestamero Mayor* of Biscay was one of the great officers of the crown, and then possessed very extensive civil and military powers.

Bermeo. The vast domains of Lara had been sequestrated, and the two daughters of Don Juan Nuñez in the power of Alburquerque for some time past. Henceforth, there was no pretext for hostilities, and the disaffected Biscayans laid down their arms, and recognized the authority of the king.*

* M. Mérimée here omits to mention an incident not altogether unimportant, which happened in this same year, 1351, I mean the first interview between Don Pedro and his faithless ally, Carlos II., of Navarre.

"The Kings of Castile and Aragon," says Mariana, "both sought at the same time to contract alliance with King Carlos, of Navarre, who had been crowned the year preceding, in the city of Pamplona. They thought whichever first gained the friendship of the King of Navarre, would thereby greatly strengthen and advance the interests of his kingdom. For those who had most judgment and acquaintance with public affairs, held it for certain that there were many violent tempests and revolutions impending, and that it was only prudent to provide against them. Don Fernando, Marques de Tortosa, was everywhere seeking assistance and making great preparations to attack the Aragonese frontier. It pleased the Navarrese monarch to hold out hopes to both kings, and pretend great friendship for each; and, at the request of the King of Castile, he came to visit that prince, at Burgos, with his brother, Don Felipe. There was much friendly rivalry between these two young kings, each striving to outdo the other in courtesy and liberality. Having spent several days in Burgos, amid feasts, games, and banquettings, such as suited the age of the two princes, the Castilian repaired to Valladolid to hold a Cortes in that city, and King Carlos returned to Pamplona. Hence, after having made arrangements to return to France, his native country, he went to Momblanc, a town in Aragon, to satisfy Pedro IV. by visiting him also. About this time, two marriages were proposed, one between King Carlos and the sister of the King of Sicily, the other between the Lady Blanche, widow of Philippe, King of France, and sister of the King

of Navarre and Don Pedro; but Carlos excused himself from both, on the plea that it was not the custom in France for widowed queens to wed a second time, however young they might be, and that, for his own part, he was not yet of an age to take a wife."—*Mariana*, Lib. XVI., cap. XVI. The King of Navarre's visit to Don Pedro is also noticed by Ayala. *See* "Cronica del Rey Don Pedro," p. 48.—*T.*

CHAPTER V.

CORTES OF VALLADOLID.
1351.

I.

THE insurrection of Biscay was still far from being appeased, when Don Pedro returned to Valladolid, and opened the Cortes in person. The transactions of this assembly, which was prolonged until beyond the year 1351, have been partially preserved, and furnish the most curious materials for a history of that period. According to custom, each order presented its schedules of petitions, of which, on the close of the session, a formal copy was returned, bearing the royal signature. Under the title ordenamiento (ordinance) the wishes expressed by the deputies, and the answers returned in the name of the sovereign, became part of the law of the land.

The reforms demanded by the three orders, and the answers and promises given by the crown, enable us to understand, with tolerable accuracy, the condition of Castile at that time. I will, therefore, in this place enter upon a brief examination of these various documents. They are written in the Castilian language, which had replaced the Latin in the public acts ever since the wise regulations of Alfonso X.; but through certain

ambiguities of expression they are difficult to render into a living tongue. These ambiguities are sometimes occasioned by the employment of terms, the exact meaning of which is now ill understood, but more often through an absence of detail and precision in the exposition of the petitions presented to the king. Indeed, the compilation is, in general so loose and vague, that we cannot but regard the written petitions as the simple abstract of a verbal discussion, a species of memorandum designed to call to memory some lengthy discourse, or weighty argument.*

If these documents have come down to us in all their integrity, as there is every reason to believe, we shall at first be surprised to find no allusion to the political events which had just marked the accession of Pedro to the throne. The murder of Garci Laso, the sequestration of his estates, the proscription of his son, and the war in Biscay, do not appear to have been the subject of any discussion upon the part of the Ricos Hombres, nor do the execution of the citizens of Burgos, and the invasion of their liberties, form any ground of complaint on the part of the deputies of the Commons. Indeed, the petition for a confirmation of the ancient franchises and existing privileges which precedes the schedules of each order, appears to me to be nothing more than the ordinary formula, and we should attach to it a very exaggerated importance if we regarded it as a protest against

* It must be added, that we have no knowledge of the text itself of these documents, but only of the statement of the petitionspreceding the royal replies, and it is not known whether this statement be a literal copy or only an abridgment.

the late acts of the government, acts not only contrary to the franchises of each of the orders, but still more opposed to all law. We must, I think, either conclude from the unaccountable silence of the Assembly on these matters, that the violent measures of Alburquerque met with a tacit approval, or construe it into a proof of the state of intimidation to which that minister had contrived to reduce the whole of the Lara faction.*

II.

The petitions presented by the clergy are comprehended in twenty-one articles, the greater part containing complaints of the usurpations or exactions of the Ricos Hombres and revenue officers. The prelates especially insist upon the restitution of certain feudal rights, which had been wrested from them by the late king. It is well known that the invasion of the African Moors had obliged Don Alfonso to employ a portion of the ecclesiastical revenues for the purposes of war. Since the victory at Rio Salado, no restitution had taken place. It is now required, but to this and similar demands, the king in general makes but evasive answers; and sometimes gives an absolute refusal, pleading the needy condition of his exchequer as his excuse. He declares, for instance, very plainly that he intends to keep the salt-pits, which had been taken away from the churches, and annexed to the royal domains.† It must be remarked, that all the petitions of the clergy, with

* *See*, however, Cortes de Vall. art. XVI. and XXII. This will be alluded to later.

† Cortes de Vall. Ord. de Prelados, art. V.

scarcely a single exception, relate to their temporal interests, as if the ecclesiastics sat in Cortes only in the character of feudal lords. When they speak in the name of religion, it is only to inveigh against the scandal caused by the Jews and Moors, who work publicly on the Sunday.* By the singular moderation of the terms in which this remonstrance is couched, we may form some idea of the religious toleration then prevailing in Castile.

III.

The petitions of the nobility appear equally dictated by an interest wholly personal. Appealing to the generosity of the king, they beseech him to grant them immunities, pensions, or pecuniary assistance, in consideration of the great losses which the recent epidemic has occasioned them by carrying off those who cultivated their estates. Labourers have become scarce, and now set an exorbitant price upon their services, in consequence of which the domains of those hidalgos who are unable to pay high wages are converted into deserts. Probably this picture of misery is not exaggerated, for the government takes their grievances into consideration, and promises to make every effort to relieve the distress of the poorer landowners. It assures them of its protection, holds out hopes of pecuniary assistance, and in order to provide for pressing emergencies, fixes, by a special

* "Ord. de Prelados, art. IX." They require that the Jews may not be allowed, under a penalty of ten maravedis, to work in the streets, (as, indeed, the greater number of artizans do in Spain to this day), but in their houses, with closed doors.

ordinance, the price of wages as well as that of articles of general comsumption.* It is extremely difficult in the present day to form a correct estimate of such a measure, which whether just or not in its details, appears to have been called for by an imperious necessity.

I have already noticed the disorders which had been caused by the illness of Don Pedro, and particularly the seizure of the public money by the pensioned nobles of the king. For all the acts of violence committed at that period, the nobles demand a complete amnesty, protesting especially against any inquiry into the rights of those who, in appropriating the royal exchequer, had pretended to pay themselves the arrears of their salaries out of it. In granting the amnesty, the king reserved to himself the right of examining into the claims of these impatient pensioners, and of endeavouring to recover all sums unlawfully obtained.†

A very remarkable law had been passed in the last reign, prohibiting ecclesiastics from receiving by devise, gifts of lands, the alleged ground of complaint being, that amongst other grave abuses, the practice of devising property had occasioned the impoverishment of many noble families. It seems that this law was very frequently evaded, for its enforcement is again demanded. The king promises this, and meanwhile authorises the reclaiming of lands alienated in contempt of the ordinances of his predecessors.‡

* Ord. de Fijosdalgo, art. II. Ord. de Menestrales.

† Ord. de Fijosdalgo, art. VII.

‡ Ibid, art. XXVIII. Some half century before, the celebrated

The existence of the Behetrias, those petty republics, whose chief privilege consisted in the power of changing their lord according to their own caprice, was the occasion of incessant disputes amongst the Castilian nobility. In an age when physical force alone was respected, these privileged peasants could only dispossess a lord when they were upheld by the arms of him whom they had elected for his successor. Hence arose continual wars, and contests. On the other hand, when the temporary rulers of the Behetrias compared their few privileges, and the uncertainty of their duration with the unlimited power of their neighbours, the proprietors of fiefs, they inveighed bitterly against institutions so humiliating to their pride, and loudly demanded their abolition; they called for the partition of the Behetrias, for the sake of the peace of the kingdom, thus unblushingly avowing their own covetous and quarrelsome temperament. The debates to which the Behetria question gave rise were long and animated. It does not appear that the inhabitants of these villages had any other representatives in Cortes than their lords. To consult peasants upon matters touching their own interests was an idea which never would have occurred to the legislators of the fourteenth century. Alburquerque pressed the abolition of the Behetrias through motives of selfish

mortmain statute (7th Edward I.) had been passed in England. There was at first the same evasion of this law in England as there appears to have been in Castile, and it was found necessary to frame new statutes (13th Edward I. ch. xxxii. 18th Edward I. ch. iii. and xv. Richard II. ch. v.), containing express provisions against any kind of alienation in mortmain.—*T.*

cupidity, for he possessed in right of his wife, great influence in these privileged lands. But other lords, proprietors like the minister, distrusted his fair dealing in such a partition, as also in the careful examination of the claims advanced by various pretenders.

Thanks to their opposition,* matters remained upon the ancient footing. This restless jealousy of each other, peculiar to the nobility of the middle ages, obliged the Ricos Hombres to sacrifice their personal interests to the dread of seeing them shared by their neighbours. The minister, however, had instructed the king to speak on the subject. To the desire expressed by the lords interested in the suppression of the Behetrias, Don Pedro replied by admitting the principle of the measure. He even engaged to renounce the right which appertained to him of administering justice in these boroughs to the exclusion of the lords, still, however, deferring a definitive answer until an inquiry had been instituted into the rights of the parties interested. To this effect special commissions were appointed, but without any result, the rivalries of the lords having doubtless raised questions still more grave and difficult to resolve than that of their titles to suzerainty, such as they were, in the actual constitution of the Behetrias.†

Two articles in the list of petitions presented by the

* The most strenuous opponent of the proposed measure, was one Don Juan Rodriguez de Sandoval, "muy grand Caballero e natural de las Behetrias." *Cronica del Rey Don Pedro*, p. 51. —*T.*

† Compare Ayala, p. 50, and following.—*Ord. de Fijosdalgo*, art. 4, 5, 6, 13, 15, 21.

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nobility must be noted as indicative of an understanding between the different orders. The first expresses a desire that no decision relative to one of the three estates should be made in Cortes during the absence of the representatives of the class concerned;* the second solicits in favour of the deputies of the Commons an indemnification for the expenses of their maintenance during the session.† We shall presently see that the Commons were equally considerate towards the nobility.

IV.

In examining the petitions addressed to the king by the deputies for the towns, we at once perceive the important part they then took in the National Assemblies. Their petitions alone treat of questions really momentous, and affecting the prosperity of the country. They present a compound, natural to the period in which they were drawn up, of noble and generous ideas, and narrow prejudices. Such was the medieval era, especially in Spain; and if we compare the opinions expressed in the Cortes at Valladolid with those which then prevailed throughout the rest of Europe, the barbarism of some institutions in Castile will cause less surprise, than the wisdom of others will excite admiration. No one will be astonished to find deputies of the Commons in 1351 requiring that Christian debtors should be empowered to make their Jewish creditors‡ bankrupts, or that Jews should be

* Ord. de Fijosdalgo, art. 23.

† Ibid. art. 22.

‡ Cortes de Valladolid, compare art. 64, 65, 74, 75.

prohibited from holding lands, and yet allowed the privilege of taking money in usury.* But it will occasion some surprise to see that in the same assembly the abolitions of freedoms, and the most complete liberty to exercise every trade,† should be demanded and obtained; that stipulation should be made for the personal safety of the deputies,‡ guarantees for individual liberty required,§ and lastly, that a promise should be extorted from the crown to revoke those scandalous immunities which exempted certain privileged persons from taxation, and thus rendered the burden intolerable to the other citizens.‖

About one half the demands presented by the Commons have for their object the reform of existing abuses in the assessment and collection of taxes. By the number and grave nature of the complaints, the extent of disorder in this department of the administration may be estimated. Amongst the measures proposed to the Cortes must be cited a new general census, in order to establish the assessment of the poll-tax, a measure rendered absolutely necessary by the scourge which had just ravaged the Peninsula, and the appointment of a body of overseers, whose duty should be to repress the extortions then commonly practised by the officers of the revenue. In certain respects, this last constitution reminds us of the *Missi Dominici* of Charlemagne.¶

* Cortes de Valladolid, art. 66.

† Ibid., 49.

‡ Ibid., 34.

§ Ibid., art. 16, 22.

‖ Ibid., art. 36.

¶ Ibid., art. 40, 55. "The Missi Dominici" were special judges

The administration of justice gives rise to equally numerous remonstrances, in which are clearly apparent the blind jealousies existing between the different provinces of the monarchy, which had been too lately united to have so far forgotten their ancient antipathies as to form one entire nation. Each town wanted to elect its magistrates from among its own inhabitants; every one not born within its walls appears to be regarded as an enemy, rather than as a fellow-countryman.*

A more just and enlightened petition requires and obtains from the king a promise that no man shall be judged out of his own province, and that royal commissioners shall vigilantly overlook the officers of justice;† lastly, as a final resource against the misconduct of magistrates, that every Castilian shall be allowed to carry his grievances before the king himself.‡

The audacity of the bandits who infested the highways, and even pillaged the towns and villages, called for the most energetic measures. At the desire of the deputies, the king sanctions the formation of a civic guard, to act as officers of police, especially in the pursuit of criminals. The extent of the evil may be imagined by the vigorous remedies applied to correct

appointed by Charlemagne, who held assizes from place to place, were invested with full powers to inquire into abuses, to enforce the execution of justice, and expel from their offices judges guilty of malpractices. They were expected to render a strict account of their actions to the king.—*T.*

* Cortes de Valladolid, art 58.

† Ibid. 50, 54, 55.

‡ Ibid., art. 48.

it. The whole population of Castile is placed under arms. In every town, or village, one fourth of the inhabitants is to be always ready to attack the brigands. Pursuit is limited to a certain distance. Relays of men-at-arms (if the expression may be used) are so disposed as to succeed each other, until the bandits are either taken or exterminated. But it is not merely against the robbers on the highways, that this militia is to act. They are also charged to fight against all rebels, and their services are especially required for the destruction of the *casas fuertes*, or residences of outlawed cavalleros, then a very numerous class throughout Spain. The king's lieutenants were empowered to convoke the militia for five miles round to besiege these fortresses, and might enlist in their service one half of the able bodied men.* Besides these regulations, we must also notice the penalties directed to be enforced against mendicants and vagrants, a class from which the enemies of the public peace are usually recruited.†

The relations of Castile with the neighbouring kingdoms were also considered as within the cognizance of the Cortes. The Commons protest against certain custom-duties established by Navarre, and require the repeal of a commercial treaty between Castile and Aragon, which was burdensome to the first of these two powers. Again, we find the maritime cities of Biscay soliciting the ratification of a treaty which they had concluded with England, upon their own authority, as it appears.‡

* Cortes de Vall., art. 1. 35.

† Ibid., art. 33.

‡ Cortes de Vall., art. 6, 9, 62. On the 1st of August, 1351,

Commercial cities at that time enjoyed an unusual degree of independence. It is well known, that two centuries later, Portugal, although at peace with the King of France, had to sustain a fierce war against a citizen of Dieppe.*

During the frequent progresses of the kings of Castile, there being at that period no fixed residence for the court, the towns and military orders were bound to defray the royal expenses. They paid the king what were called *yantares*, and the expense was often very considerable, the rather, as on such occasions the officers of the king augmented it to an indefinite amount by their extravagance. At the recommendation of the Commons, the quota of expenses, the amount of money to be levied, and even the bill of fare for the royal table, were fixed by rule. It was also stipulated that the king and the queen only should be entitled to demand the defrayal of the costs of reception during their journeys or progresses.†

Juan Lopez de Salcedo, Diego Sanchez de Lupar, and Nuño Perez de Golindano, on behalf of the maritime towns and subjects of Castile, signed a treaty of peace for twenty years with England. This is the treaty of peace, I presume, that the Biscayans request the Cortes to ratify. Some ten or twelve months before, the English, commanded by Edward III., had defeated a Castilian fleet, under the command of Don Carlos de la Cerda, and had taken twenty-six of his ships.—*T.*

* Francis the First replied to the Portuguese ambassadors: "See Ango, and arrange matters with him."—*Vitet, Hist. de Dieppe*, t. II, p. 425.

† Cortes de Vall., art. 29, 70. This was not the first nor the only time that the Cortes protested against the lavish expenditure

Amongst the numerous petitions presented to the king by the deputies of the towns, we look in vain for complaints against the tyranny and oppression of the Ricos Hombres. This apparent harmony between the two orders is remarkable, at a time when collisions between the nobility and Commons were unquestionably of frequent occurrence. Such is the good understanding prevalent in the Cortes of Valladolid, that the deputies of the towns recommend the schedules of the two other estates to the king, and particularly call his attention to the situation of those hidalgos, who had been ruined by the epidemic.* From this the conclusion must be drawn that conferences occasionally took place between the different orders. Undoubtedly, several matters discussed at different meetings were not brought before the king at all, when the debates had concluded amicably. I find but a single article indicative of a dissension between the commons and the clergy. In this the king is besought by the commons to repress the abuse of the power of excommunication held by the ecclesiastics, and to set some limit to the penalties incurred by persons who had drawn upon them the anathemas of the church.†

The interests of agriculture and commerce were not

of the king's household. In 1258 they told the Emperor Alfonso that one hundred and fifty maravedis per diem were quite sufficient for the expenses of the royal table, and recommended his Imperial majesty to order his attendants to place some restraint upon their appetites. The extravagance of Juan II. was rebuked by them, nor did they hesitate to remonstrate with the haughty Felipe II.—*T.*

* Cortes de Vall., art. 41, 59.

† Ibid., art. 40.

neglected by the Cortes of Valladolid, and several remarkable clauses bear ample testimony to their solicitude on these points. Thus, a variety of questions relative to the right of way, and pasture of wandering flocks and herds,* to the exportation of grain, cattle, horses, wood for building purposes, and precious metals, are decided.† Other ordinances have for their end the preservation of the forests, an object of solicitude in Castile even so early as the fourteenth century.‡ To these very numerous regulations must be added some sumptuary laws, the greater part a re-enactment of those passed in preceding reigns, and still destined to remain unobserved.‖

V.

By this very brief summary, the reader may form some idea of the labours imposed upon the Cortes of Valladolid. Perhaps it will not be out of place here to say a few words concerning the form in which the requisitions of the assembly were submitted to the king. It must first be observed, that precisely the same formula served for the three estates. All address the sovereign, as an absolute master, supplicating him that "*it may be his good pleasure*"§ to remedy such an abuse, to satisfy such a request. This formula, which perhaps dates from remote antiquity, need not be viewed as a proof of ser-

* Cortes de Vall., art. 44, 56.

† Ibid., art. 42, 43, 45, 72.

‡ Ibid., art. 61.

‖ Ibid., art. 18, 24, 32, 74.

§ A lo que me pidieron por merced, &c.

vility, but, on the contrary, rather as the first expression of that legal fiction existing in all constitutional governments, which placing responsibility at the foot of the throne, raises majesty above all blame. In support of this opinion, I will cite a remarkable paragraph from the schedule of the Commons, which, properly understood, is only a petition, praying that the liberty of the subject should be guaranteed. "We beseech the king that there shall not issue from his Court of Chancery any order to kill or apprehend one of his subjects, or to confiscate his property; that in an emergency when such an order shall be given, it may not be executed, until it has been carried before the king himself, and confirmed."* Thus it is feigned that the king cannot will an illegal act, and it is to him that appeal is to be made against the hasty decrees of his ministers.

The replies of the crown are generally curt and precise. "A esto respondo que lo tengo por bien e mando que se guarde," (to this I reply, that I hold it to be good, and therefore I command it), such is the formula most generally pronounced. When the king rejects the petitions of Cortes, we must admit that it is generally with good reason, and in order to repel exorbitant and unjust pretensions. In the case of the Jews and Moors, for instance, he reasonably refuses to sanction the exceptional laws, Cortes would

* Cortes de Vall., art. 16. I cite the king's reply: "If I issue orders, it is the duty of the officers whom I send to arrest those that I name, but neither to kill, nor to torture them; I should be advised at once, that I may decide according to my pleasure."

have enacted to their disadvantage;* and when he evades the requests of the clergy to restore the revenues which the crown has taken from them, he pleads the necessities of the treasury, and the laws voted freely in the assembled Cortes under the preceding reign.† The royal promises to administer justice, to diminish the amount and number of the taxes, to respect the customs and liberties of the kingdom, are moreover numerous and explicit, in a word, such as might be expected from a prince just ascending the throne. The conclusion of this history will show how these magnificent promises were fulfilled.

* Cortes de Vall., art. 64, 65, 66, 68, 75, 76.

† Ibid., Ord. de Prelados, art. 1, 5, 19.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNMENT OF ALBURQUERQUE—TREATY WITH ARAGON—REBELLION OF ALONSO CORONEL.
1352 TO 1353.

I.

THE session of Cortes was prolonged to the spring of the year 1352. About the end of March, the king quitted Valladolid in order to repair to the Portuguese frontier. His grandfather, Alfonso IV,* father of

* Alfonso IV. of Portugal, surnamed the Brave, passed his life in perpetual contests with his own family. Jealous of the favours his father Dom Dinis, bestowed upon his bastard brother Alfonso, when Infante of Portugal, openly revolted. On his accession to the throne, in 1325, his first act was to confiscate the possessions of his brother and to condemn him to exile. He married his daughter to Alfonso XI. of Castile; his son to Constanza, daughter of Don Juan Manuel, the Crichton of his age. Both marriages proved unhappy. His son, afterwards Pedro I. of Portugal, neglected his wife for the charms of Inez de Castro, whose cruel death has caused the name of Alfonso the Brave to be execrated throughout Europe. His daughter was even more unfortunate in her marriage than her brother; but Doña Maria was one of those characters who fail to inspire any other feeling than contempt. Had Alfonso IV. been less proud and vindictive, it would have been impossible for him to have had two such ambitious relatives as Don Juan Manuel and Alfonso the Magnificent, and remained at peace. Hence arose his constant wars

Queen Maria, had requested an interview with him. It took place at Ciudad Rodrigo with great demonstrations of affection on both sides. The King of Portugal having begged his grandson to pardon the Conde de Trastamara, then a refugee in his kingdom, Don Pedro at once consented, either because, surprised by the unforeseen request, he had not time to consult his mother or his minister, or that, flattered by a royal solicitation, he joyfully seized the opportunity of performing an independent act of authority. However this may be, and even presuming the amnesty accorded to Don Enrique to have been sincere, the latter did not think it prudent to appear before his brother. He returned to the Asturias with his factious disposition unchanged; for we very soon find him again assembling his men-at-arms, and labouring incessantly to form a party. Thanks to the mediation of the King of Portugal, he had just obtained the removal of the sequestration laid upon his property and that of his wife, Doña Juana de Villena.* He employed these

with Castile. His valour and personal bravery were unquestioned, and when laying aside his private wrongs, he consented to join Alfonso XI. in opposing the Moorish invaders, his presence in the Castilian camp was regarded as a favourable omen for the Christian cause. His latter days were embittered by the open rebellion of his son. He died in 1357.—*T.*

* See the preamble of a charter of Don Enrique, cited by Pellicer, "Informe de la casa de los Sarmientos de Villamayor." Don Enrique acknowledges that the king has pardoned him all his misdeeds, (todos los maleficios que ayamos fecho fastaqui), and that he has restored his own and his wife, Doña Juana's property." Gijon 16th of June, year of the Era 1390 (1352).—"Ayala," p. 76, Note of Llaguno.—N. B. The Castilians then dated

new resources in augmenting the number of his dependents and in endeavouring to found a separate sovereignty in the Asturias. Probably his dreams of ambition at that period went no farther.

Alburquerque, despising the petty intrigues of Don Enrique in the north, could not see, without uneasiness, the more formidable preparations made by some Ricos Hombres of Castile, partisans of the Lara faction. Since the tragical death of Garci Laso, Don Alonso Coronel had aspired to the leadership of the vanquished, but still not destroyed party. We have seen this noble abandon Doña Leonor immediately after king Don Alfonso's death, and in reward of his prompt defection obtain a high place in the favour of Alburquerque. He had received with the banner and cauldron of a Rico Hombre, the vast lordship and strong castle of Aguilar,

their acts from the era of Augustus Cæsar, that is, from the year of a general census, prescribed, it is said, by that emperor. It commences 38 years before the Christian era. The Aragonese, who, for a long time followed the same system of computation, had abandoned it at the time this history commences. "Many dissertations," says Dr. Southey, "have been written concerning the origin and etymology of the Era, from which the Spaniards used to date, till it was abolished in Aragon by Pedro IV., 1358, in Castile by Juan I., 1383, and in Portugal by Joam I., 1415. St. Isidore thinks it originated from the tribute imposed by Augustus, and that the word was literally Æra—the brazen money. Brito says that this is confirmed by a manuscript of Eusebius at Alcobaça, in which these words are found: 'Hoc tempore edicto Augusti Cæsaris, æs in tributum et census dari jubetum, ex quod Æra collecta est.' He means, I suppose, that this is inserted as a marginal note by the transcriber. Both the Toledan annals support this etymology by calling it *Era del Arambre—Arambre* meaning the same as *Æs.*" ["Sepulveda

which had been acquired in the first instance by a confiscation made by command of the late king. Coronel, nevertheless, gave out that he had paid so dearly for these favours of the minister,* as to preclude all claim to gratitude on his part. Since he had become a Rico Hombre in name and in deed, he had embarked with greater zeal than ever in the cause of Don Juan Nuñez, and during Don Pedro's illness had shown imprudent eagerness in upholding the pretensions of the Lord of

"Sepulveda says it is a corruption: *Annus era. A.*, and from this abbreviation of *erat Augusti* came *era*. Resende and Morales assert that Era was a well known word in this acceptation before the age of Augustus.

"'Of these opinions,' says Bernardo de Brito, 'the reader may choose which he likes best: for myself, I judge St. Isidore's to be very likely, Sepulveda's very ingenious, and Resende's very true—till some better shall be discovered.' But certain it is, that this date is peculiar to Spain.

"The mode of reducing the year of the Era to the year of Christ is, by subtracting 38. No doubt had been made of this computation till the Marques de Mondejar endeavoured to prove that the Era should be reckoned from the Incarnation instead of before the Nativity, and that another year ought to be subtracted. This opinion was supported by Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, who edited Mondejar's chronological works. The authority of two such men was not lightly to be rejected. Florez therefore entered into a full investigation of the subject, and has for ever established the accuracy of the old computation."—*Note to Southey's Chronicle of the Cid.*

* Ayala, p. 66, and following. The Castle of Aguilar had belonged to Don Gonzalo Fernandez, and had afterwards become part of the royal domain. Ayala relates that Coronel had obtained it from Alburquerque by promising him in exchange the Castle of Burguillos, which in the end he refused to deliver to him.

Lara, not only in Andalucia but in Castile. The recovery of the king, and the death of Don Juan Nuñez, had, for a time, disconcerted his projects, and being already an object of suspicion to the new government, he thought it prudent to absent himself from the Cortes of Valladolid. He was now warned, by the murder of Garci Laso, of the fate the all-powerful minister reserved for his enemies, and resolving not to imitate the fool-hardy confidence of his brother-in-arms, prepared, beforehand, for a vigorous resistance. Whilst placing his castles in Castile and Andalucia in a state of defence, he sought to open a negociation with Don Enrique and Don Tello, who, being like himself, suspected by Don Juan de Alburquerque, seemed to him his natural allies. Not being very scrupulous in the choice of his protectors, he next endeavoured to treat with the Moorish king of Granada, and even solicited the assistance of the Arabs beyond seas. The castle of Aguilar, situated upon the Granadine frontier, presented great facilities for carrying on these negociations. He had shut himself up here with his son-in-law, Don Juan de la Cerda, a powerful Castilian noble, and both gathered around them the most faithful of their vassals. From this fortress they sought the friendship of all the malcontents of the realm, and endeavoured to rally around them the scattered remains of the Lara party.

Alburquerque was not ignorant of the jealousy and hatred his good fortune had excited, nor of the number and strength of his enemies. His natural boldness in this instance agreeing with the dictates of policy, inclined him first to direct his attention to the most formidable; he was moreover convinced that a terrible example would

serve to intimidate the remainder of the factious. The death of Alonso Coronel was decreed. In pursuance of this design, Alburquerque quitted Ciudad Rodrigo as soon as he could take leave of the King of Portugal, and hastened to lead Don Pedro into Andalucia, hoping, by the rapidity of his march, to disconcert the intrigues of the rebels. In a few days he assembled a small army under the royal banners at Cordova, and immediately advanced against the castle of Aguilar. Gutier Fernandez de Toledo, grand chamberlain, and Sancho Sanchez de Rojas, chief of the ballesteros of the guard, preceded him, charged to summon Coronel to open his gates to the king. Coronel, who probably had not anticipated so early an attack, replied, with some embarrassment, that by the terms of his charter of investiture, granted by the king himself, he was exempted from entertaining his sovereign, especially, when he came with so large an escort.* Afterwards, his military frankness prevailing over his prudence, he confessed that the presence of Alburquerque, his declared enemy, alone prevented him from fulfilling his duty; but that so long as this minister exercised his

* All the Ricos Hombres, as well as the Masters and Commanders of the military orders, were bound to receive the king in their castles, and lodge him there, under pain of high treason. We have seen that the Cortes of Valladolid had regulated the expenses which were to be incurred on such occasions. It appears that the kings of Spain, when they bestowed a castle, sometimes dispensed its owner from the cost of royal receptions, *yantares*; but, supposing that Coronel had such a privilege, it is evident that it could only be understood as exempting him from the expense of *yantares*, and would not release him from the obligation of opening his gates to his lord.

tyrannical sway, he should be constrained to his great sorrow, but for his own safety, to disobey the king's commands. Meanwhile, a number of knights, his secret or avowed friends, approached the ramparts in the hope of effecting some arrangement. All, even those whom he regarded as his confederates and accomplices, counselled immediate submission; they entreated him to reserve himself for happier times, and not precipitate his ruin by a hopeless resistance. If he consented to surrender his castle, he might obtain permission to leave the kingdom, and the king, satisfied by a few months' exile, would soon grant him a complete amnesty, and reverse the order for the sequestration of his estates. Coronel was surprised to hear such language from the lips of those from whom he had expected substantial assistance; he did not, however, falter in his resolution, he remained inflexible.

"The king," he replied, "is in the hands of Alburquerque; never will I, like Garci Laso, surrender to my mortal enemy."

During these parleys, Don Pedro was approaching. To terminate the negociations, the royal banner of Castile was unfurled, and a few archers made a show of assailing the outworks of the castle. To this demonstration, which could have no other end in view than to incite the garrison of Aguilar to an act of rebellion, they replied with their usual war-cry, accompanied by a shower of arrows. After the interchange of a few shafts on both sides, a retreat was sounded. The chief of the archers now exhibited to the king the banner of Castile, torn by arrows shot from the fortress. This

spectacle excited general indignation, and the friends of Coronel, who a moment before had interceded for him, were now silent, and abandoned him to his fate. That same day he was proclaimed a traitor, and his estates declared confiscated to the crown. The next step was to obtain possession of them. Aguilar was strongly fortified, well supplied with ammunition and provisions, and the royal army, besides being far from numerous, had no engines wherewith to carry on the siege. Alburquerque, leaving a small body of troops before the place, conducted the king back into Castile, hoping to make there a more easy conquest of other castles belonging to the rebel. His presence in the north had moreover become necessary, for the allies of Coronel began to show themselves.

In the Asturias, the Conde de Trastamara had just taken possession of the town of Gijon, which he appeared inclined to make his rallying point. On the other side, Don Tello, his brother, scarcely sixteen years of age, unfurled his standard, and commenced his military career with one of those exploits common to the heroes of that period. Quitting Aranda de Duero, a town which formed part of his apanage, he had, not far from Burgos, waylaid a large convoy of merchandize, bound for the fair of Alcala de Henares. After this feat, being terrified at the sight of the militia pouring forth from the neighbouring cities, he hastily fled to his castle of Monteagudo, on the frontier of Aragon. He did not, however, consider himself in safety even there, but implored the protection of Pedro IV, and did him homage,

engaging never to make either peace or war with the King of Castile, without the consent of his new suzerain.*

The young king, still under the guidance of Alburquerque, next marched towards the Asturias, taking possession on the road of several castles or fortified houses in Castile belonging to Coronel. The greater number surrendered without offering any serious resistance. The castellan of Burguillos alone sustained an assault. He was a brave esquire, a liege man of Coronel, named Juan de Cañedo, and neither the king's presence, nor the promises of Alburquerque, could induce him to surrender the fortress entrusted to his care. After fighting desperately, he was taken prisoner, and the conqueror ordered his hands to be struck off. Leaving the malcontents in Castile to meditate upon this terrible example, the royal army entered the Asturias. At his approach, Don Enrique abandoned Gijon, and took refuge in the mountains with a few devoted friends. Still carefully keeping out of his brother's way, Enrique protested his fidelity, and the governors of Gijon and his other castles, at his request engaged to desist from hostilities, provided the king would consent to pardon their lord. A species of truce was concluded. Alburquerque promised to treat Don Enrique leniently, and accepted the oath proffered by

* Archivo general de la corona de Aragon, Pergamino, No. 1676, dated from Lerida, June 14, 1352. Although this scroll bears the signature of Don Tello, I do not know if he himself took the oath of homage to the King of Aragon. The document leads me to infer that Pero Ruiz de Villegas, his major domo, rendered homage in the young prince's name.

his lieutenants.* This expedition was like a progress, for in no part of the country did the king meet with enemies.

Finding all was quiet in this quarter, the minister quickly brought the king back into Castile, to reduce the places occupied by Don Tello's vassals. The majority of these were taken almost without opposition. Monteagudo, the principal of his fortresses, might have offered a serious resistance; but the governor demanded and obtained terms of capitulation, or rather a suspension of arms, similar to those which had just been granted to Don Enrique's lieutenants, namely, the promise of an amnesty for his master, on condition that he would in the meantime abstain entirely from hostilities.† It was evident that the malcontents in the northern provinces dared not engage in any enterprise until they had learned the result of the attempted revolt of Alonso Coronel in Andalucia. The enemies of Alburquerque were scattered over different provinces, their interests were divided, and thus they were unable to act in concert; hardly, indeed, were they acquainted with each other's designs, each imagining that he had singly to oppose the king's entire forces, and intent only upon securing his personal safety, without caring for that of his confederates.

With regard to these strange compacts between the sovereign and his rebellious subjects, compacts rigidly observed on both sides, as it appears, they prove what was then the recognised principle on the subject of the obedience due from a vassal to his

* Ayala, p. 76.

† Ibid., p. 78.

immediate lord. The governors of Don Enrique and Don Tello reconciled the fidelity sworn to their lord, with the respect due to the majesty of the throne, by stipulating, on the one hand, for their master's pardon, and promising, on the other, not to attack the royal forces. It would, doubtless, have been exacting too much to require their entire and unqualified submission. Vassals could not arbitrate between their lord and the king, but, by remaining quiescent until some arrangement was made, their neutrality seemed sufficient homage to the crown. Besides, the design of Alburquerque was merely to isolate Coronel, against whom he wished to concentrate all his strength. He attained his end by these compacts, and doubtless reserved to himself the right of chastising Coronel's timid accomplices at some future period. For the present, he affected to see a great difference between the bastards, who had only been guilty of mistrusting their king, and the Rico Hombre of Aguilar, who had openly revolted, and was now proclaimed a traitor and rebel. Hence his readiness to treat with the Castellans of Gijon, or of Monteagudo, and his cruelty towards Juan de Cañedo de Burguillos.

II.

Alburquerque, when he marched upon Monteagudo, at the extremity of Castile, had not merely the intimidation of Don Tello in view. The attitude of the King of Aragon gave him some uneasiness, and he was anxious to fathom his intentions before returning into Andalucia to subdue Coronel. Although Aragon and Castile had been at peace for many years, the

relations between the two countries were anything but amicable. Upon the death of Alfonso IV., Doña Leonor, his second wife, Infanta of Castile, and paternal aunt of Don Pedro, quitted Aragon as soon as her son-in-law, Pedro IV., ascended the throne, having been for some time past on ill terms with him. She had retired into Castile with her two sons, the Infantes Don Fernando and Don Juan, and had maintained a constant intercourse with the avowed or secret enemies of the new king.

Don Fernando had for some months been recognised as chief among the rebels in the kingdom of Valencia, and when, for a short period, the league between the Lords and Commons, which assumed the name of the Union, held Pedro IV. in its power, that monarch had been obliged to recognise the brother whom he hated as his heir presumptive. However, the battle of Epila had decided against these pretensions, and constrained the Infante to return humbled into Castile. His ambition had been punished by the sequestration of his and Doña Leonor's property; but the asylum which he had found in Castile, the elevated rank he there occupied, and his alliance with the all-powerful minister of Don Pedro, were subjects of incessant uneasiness and irritation to Pedro IV. The welcome given to Don Tello, and the readiness with which the King of Aragon accepted homage from him were acts of retaliation. By granting his protection to the Castilian rebels, Pedro IV. proved that he could henceforth fight the Castilian with equal weapons, and return in full measure all the evil, the apprehension of which had occasioned himself so much anxiety.

Thus, by a singular coincidence, the two kings found

allies in each other's families, and each of them had at his command the means of kindling war in the neighbouring kingdom. The growing animosity between the two courts was still further increased by the restless ambition of Don Fernando, who after having for a brief period imagined himself King of Castile, was deprived of that hope, and now again turned his attention towards Aragon. He was suspected of a design to renew the attempts which had so miserably failed some years back, and, in fact, he was hovering about the frontier, seeking to fan the smouldering ashes of the Valencian league into open flame. On his side, the King of Aragon was well acquainted with these intrigues, and had assembled in the kingdom of Valencia a considerable body of troops ready to repel, perhaps to anticipate, an attack. Such was the position of affairs when Alburquerque appeared before Monteagudo.

He sincerely desired peace, for there was nothing to be gained by the war, but the aggrandizement of the Infante of Aragon, a matter of total indifference to him. His private hatred and his self-interest equally disposed him to concentrate all his efforts against the last leader of the Lara faction, and in order to wreak his vengeance with perfect security, it was essential that he should be delivered from all apprehension of a foreign war. His first care, therefore, was to open negociations with the Aragonese monarch, who gladly listened to him. The minister, Don Bernal de Cabrera,* who then bore the same part in the counsels

* Don Bernal de Cabrera had some claims upon the lordship of Aguilar. In re-annexing that seignory to the royal domain, Don

of Pedro IV. as Alburquerque in those of the Castilian monarch, was an avowed enemy to Alonso Coronel; and the desire of ruining a man whom he detested, doubtless contributed not a little to expedite the agreement between the two crowns.

Towards the close of the autumn, in the city of Agreda, the conferences were suddenly terminated with a treaty of alliance, which was concluded at the Castle of Atienza, the 29th day of October, 1352. The two kings having the same grounds for complaint and apprehension, made similar sacrifices to ensure themselves a tranquil rule. They swore to pardon those princes of their houses who had been in open or secret hostility to their governments; Don Pedro engaging to receive into favour his bastard brother, Don Tello, and to restore him his estates; Pedro IV. granting an amnesty to the two Infantes, his half-brothers, and promising to reinstate them, as well as Doña Leonor, their mother, in the domains which he had sequestrated. At the same time, each of the two kings was held responsible to his ally for the conduct of those whose pardon he had just obtained. On both sides, with a few exceptions, the amnesty was extended to the subordinate personages, vassals of Don Tello or of the Infantes.

I ought here to direct attention to a singular clause in the treaty. It was stipulated that the adherents of the Infante of Aragon should not be called to account for their acts of hostility towards Pedro IV., unless a sentence of treason had been registered against them

Alfonso had indemnified Cabrera and Coronel; but neither of them being satisfied, their animosity still subsisted.—*See* Zurita, "Anales de Aragon," t. II., p. 248, verso.—Ayala, p. 67 and following.

anterior to the treaty of Atienza; nor even then could they be pursued into the cities forming part of the personal property of the Infantes.* A similar article regulated the fate of the partisans of Don Tello. Thus each king, recognizing the independence of a lordship held of himself, permitted places of refuge from his own decrees to exist in his kingdom.

Such was the feudal regime, such the impotency of royalty. Still, whilst the two ministers made this signal concession to the demands of the nobility, they did not neglect taking measures to restrain the privileges of the nobles for the future. In pursuance of this treaty of peace, the basis of a contract of extradition was resolved upon; a very extraordinary act for the period, by which the two kings were to deliver up rebellious subjects against whom sentence had been pronounced anterior to the treaty of Atienza.† It is very probable that this compact, though publicly attested by the two kings, was never actually enforced. It too openly attacked the prejudices of the age. However, it appears like a first attempt to limit that independence of which the great vassals were so jealous. Alburquerque and Cabrera, both ministers possessed of absolute power, sought to augment that power by upholding the cause of royal authority. They imagined they were labouring only for themselves;—their masters alone profited by their policy.

* "Arch. gén. de Ar." Pergaminos 1736 and 1737.—Zurita, t. II., p. 248 and following.

† "Arch. gén. de Ar. Legajo de cartas reales, No. 89."—This treaty of extradition is cited, without date, in a document which bears that of the 2nd of June, era 1397 (1359).

III.

Alburquerque, now at ease with regard to the designs of the Aragonese monarch, returned with the young king to Andalucia. The struggle between the minister and the factious Ricos Hombres, was to be decided under the walls of Aguilar. This time it was not a mere measuring of each other's strength; numerous bodies of troops, engines of war, and all the paraphernalia of a siege were directed against the place. During Alburquerque's absence, Coronel forced his way through the weak army of observation which hedged him in, and several times proceeded as far as the gates of Cordova. His son-in-law, Don Juan de la Cerda, had visited Granada, and thence proceeded to Africa, hoping to gain assistance, but his efforts had proved unsuccessful. Coronel's obstinacy only served to expose his real weakness and perfect isolation. The neighbouring towns, exasperated by the depredations of his men-at-arms, vied with each other in sending their banners to the royal army. The alliance of the Moorish kings which the rebel had so openly solicited, excited the indignation of all Andalucia, which was often ravaged by the Moors; it also scandalized the clergy, who in consequence named Alburquerque the defender of religion and his country. Lastly, the neutrality of the two bastards proved that the malcontents were not agreed among themselves, aud that they acted without any fixed plan. To foresee the issue of the contest it was only necessary to compare the forces of the two hostile parties.

As soon as the king appeared before Aguilar, the

assault was prosecuted with vigour.' At first the besieged defended themselves bravely. Several months must elapse before the outworks could be carried, the ground levelled, the battering-rams conveyed to the foot of the ramparts. They at last began to fight in the breach; despondency then seized the garrison. No succours arrived; the Moors of Granada renewed their pacific protestations to the King of Castile; those beyond seas exhibited great reluctance to break the truce. The walls of the fortress must give way before the mines and battering-rams; the precise hour when a breach would be practicable might be foreseen. Whilst Coronel's mercenary soldiers were meditating how to escape from a place incapable of defence, and on each succeeding day numerous deserters were imploring the mercy of the assailants, Juan Fernandez de Cañedo, the former governor of Burguillos, boldly presented himself before Pedro. Hardly recovered from the dreadful mutilation to which he had been subjected, he came with unshrinking hardihood to demand the king's permission to enter Aguilar, and die with his lord. This favour was granted him, and his heroic fidelity provoked the admiration even of his enemies. They envied Coronel the glory of inspiring such devotion. Every one looked forward with anxiety to the last moments of a man whom all Castile was accustomed to regard as the perfect model of an accomplished and valiant knight.

Every thing was prepared for the assault; the several posts assigned, the hour fixed for mounting the breach. During the kind of tacit truce which precedes a decisive battle, the king's chamberlain, Gutier Fernandez, an

old friend of the Lord of Aguilar, perceived him on the ramparts engaged in giving his final orders. He spurred his horse towards him, and as soon as he was within hearing: "Compadre,"* cried he, "I am grieved at your wrongheadedness!" "Well, what remedy remains now?" replied Coronel. "Alas!" returned Gutier, "I see none." Then said Coronel in a grave tone of voice: "My good friend, you are mistaken. For me one resource yet remains: it is to die as becomes a true knight." They parted with tears in their eyes. Coronel withdrew into the interior of the castle to put on a gambax,† and a coat of mail; he then went to hear mass in the chapel of the fortress. During the celebration of the holy office, an esquire rushes into the nave. "What are you about, Don Alonso?" he cried. "They are entering by the breach. Pero Estebañez, commander of Alcantara, is in the town with his men-at-arms!" "Come what may," said Coronel, interrupting his devotional exercises for a moment, "first I will see the Lord," and he remained motionless on his knees until after the elevation of the Host. He then left the chapel, but finding the king's troops already masters of the ramparts, he threw himself into the keep which still held out, and thence recognizing Diaz Gomez, chief of the esquires of the guard, he called out to him, saying: "Diaz Gomez,

* I do not know whether Gutier Fernandez had been godfather to a child of Coronel. The word *compadre* was a familiar term frequently used in the middle ages. It is still common in Andalucia, without conveying any particular meaning.

† A wadded vest which was worn under the haubert or coat of mail, to preserve the skin and clothes from friction.

my friend, will you bring me alive to the king my master?" "I know not if I can," replied Gomez, "but be assured I will do my best." "Lead me to him then," said the vanquished hero, delivering up his sword, "and I pray you, command your men to seek out my sons in the castle, and if possible to keep them out of harm's way." It was not without difficulty that they led him through the midst of a furious soldiery to the king. On perceiving his enemy, Alburquerque exclaimed: "What, Coronel a traitor to the country which has lavished so many honours upon him!" "Don Juan," replied Coronel, "we are sons of Castile, that country which first elevates her children, and then casts them down. We cannot control our destiny!* All the mercy I crave of you is a speedy death, such as I granted the Master of Alcantara this very day fourteen years ago."† The king who was present with his visor down, listened to this dialogue without discovering himself, doubtless admiring the coolness and intrepidity of Coronel; accustomed, however, to let his minister act as he thought right, Pedro remained unmoved and issued no commands. Upon a signal from Alburquerque, Coronel

* This tendency to fatalism, common to the Spaniards of that age, is worth notice; it may be attributed to their intercourse with the Arabs.

† In 1339, Don Gonzalo Martinez, Master of Alcantara, having revolted against King Don Alfonso, was besieged and taken in his castle of Valencia. Coronel had presided at his execution.—*Cronica de Don Alfonso XI.*, p. 385. The Master of Alcantara appears to have been sacrificed at the instigation of Doña Leonor de Guzman, whose liege-man Coronel then was. This circumstance has been alluded to in a previous note.

was led a few paces off, and beheaded with several knights of his suite; amongst them Alfonso Carrillo, a brave hidalgo belonging to a family devoted to the Laras, and formerly governor for Doña Leonor de Guzman, of the castles of Lucena and Cabra. He was godson and brother in arms of Coronel, and had hastened to shut himself up with his friend in Aguilar as soon as he became aware of that friend's desperate condition.*

Thus perished, after a siege of four months, this little band of brave men, the heroism of whose resistance was only equalled by its temerity. Alonso Coronel had miscalculated his power. It was not a soldier of fortune, an adventurer, as men like him were then designated, whom the Ricos Hombres, discontented with the government of Alburquerque, would have consented to accept as their chief. The Lara faction required a great name to serve as a rallying cry for their scattered party. Enrique de Trastamara, the husband of the niece of Don Juan Nuñez, was then only twenty years of age, and Spain was as yet ignorant of his genius and daring.

* Ayala, p. 80 and following.

CHAPTER VII.

RECONCILIATION OF DON PEDRO WITH HIS BROTHERS—INFLUENCE OF DONA MARIA DE PADILLA.
1353 TO 1354.

I.

UNTIL now we have seen Don Pedro with no other will than that of his minister; the time was approaching when this indolent acquiescence was to cease. Alburquerque and the queen-mother, having determined upon marrying the young prince, had looked towards the royal house of France for the desired alliance.* During the session of the Cortes of Valladolid, ambassadors had journeyed to Paris, charged in the name of Don Pedro, to demand the hand of Blanche, then scarcely fifteen years of age, the niece of King John, and daughter of the Duke of Bourbon. Her beauty, gentleness, and simple grace, were extolled everywhere. The princess had already been solemnly betrothed to the King of Castile, and had only deferred her journey into Spain until the termination of the troubles which obliged Don Pedro to traverse his provinces at the head of an army. At the same time that the minister was

* Don Pedro had been affianced, when very young, to a daughter of Edward III.; the young princess, however, died at Bayonne, on her way to Castile. The treaty for a matrimonial alliance between Alfonso XI's. son and Edward III's daughter, may be seen in Ryder's "Fœdera."—*T.*

treating for this illustrious alliance, he did not blush to engage secretly in a less honourable negociation, the success of which, however, according to his views, would insure him the continuance of his influence over the royal mind. Already had the haughty temper of the young king been exhibited at different times by flashes of independence, evanescent as lightning, but alarming to an old politician accustomed to read his master's thoughts. He perceived that in order to divert him from the inclination to govern alone, he must provide attractions more potent than the pleasures of the chase. The reign of Don Alfonso had proved the powerful influence of a mistress, and the politic minister would not leave to chance the choice of a woman destined to play so important a part. Instead of a rival, he would fain have an ally, or rather a slave. Accordingly he chose for the king, and was miserably disappointed. He imagined he had discovered in Doña Maria de Padilla, a young girl brought up in the house of his wife, Doña Isabel de Meneses, the fittest person to assist him in his designs. She was an orphan, descended from an illustrious family, which had been formerly attached to the Lara faction, and ruined in the late civil wars.* Her brother and uncle, who were

* "Cron. de Don Alfonso XI., p. 299."—Argote de Molina "Nobleza de Andalucia," p. 93. The house of Padilla is mentioned in a grant dated 1033. Maria de Padilla was descended from Diego Nuñez de Padilla or Padiella, one of those Ricos Hombres who witnessed the privilege granted in 1033, to the church of Ona, by Sancho el Mayor, first King of Castile. In 1166, Nuñez Gutier de Padilla founded the convent of St. Michael de Villemayor, of the Premonstratensian Order. The Padillas bore for coat-armour, in a field azure, three spades, (in Spanish, Padilla)

both poor and ambitious, are said to have lent themselves to this shameful transaction. Imagining that Doña Maria, having been brought up in his house, would always look upon him as her master, Alburquerque drew Don Pedro's attention towards her, and contrived their first interview, which took place during the expedition to the Asturias.* Doña Maria de Padilla was small in stature, like the majority of Spanish women; pretty, lively, full of that voluptuous grace peculiar to the women of the south, and which our language has no word adequately to express.† As yet she was only distinguished by the sprightliness of her wit, which amused the noble lady with whom she

argent, with nine crescents of the same. *See* Dillon's "Peter the Cruel," vol. i., p. 256 and following.—*T.*

* Ayala, p. 77. Compare with the "Sumario de los reges de España," p. 60. Zurita, in a note to Ayala, states that the king first met Doña Maria in the city of Leon, at the house of a cavallero named Diego Fernandez de Quiñones, who was a relative of the young lady. The king fell in love at first sight of the youthful beauty, "who was," adds the Aragonese secretary, "the handsomest damsel in the world." "Cronica del rey Don Pedro," p. 77.—*T.*

† Ayala, p. 332. The Castilian tongue is rich in words characterising grace among women. Spain is, in fact, the country where this quality most prevails. I will cite only a few expressions which indicate distinctive shades easier to understand than to translate. *Garbo*, signifies grace united with nobility; *donayre*, an elegant deportment, a joyous spirit; *salero*, voluptuous and fascinating grace; *zandunga*, a species of grace peculiar to the Andalucians, a happy mixture of easy nonchalance and entire freedom from care. A Spaniard would praise the garbo or donayre of a duchess, the salero of an actress, the zandunga of a gitana of Jerez.

lived in a capacity almost servile. Being older than the king, she possessed the advantage of having already studied mankind; and while mingling with the crowd of attendants, had observed all that had passed at court. She soon proved herself worthy to reign.

It is pleasant to believe that this young girl, in bestowing her affections upon Don Pedro, did not yield to the impulses of ambition alone. The king was only eighteen years of age, he was well formed, high spirited, generous, and undeniably in love. Doubtless, his passion was sufficient of itself to win Doña Maria, even though it had not been rendered yet more seductive by the fascinations of a crown. Both her protectors and her family conspired to overcome her scruples, and succeeded. Probably a promise of marriage had been given her by the king, or, as some authors have supposed, the marriage ceremonies were actually performed. If this, however, were really the case, the most profound secresy* must have been observed, and all Spain kept in ignorance of the fact, for Doña Maria was only regarded as the king's mistress. Her uncle, Juan Fernandez de Hinestrosa, himself, conducted her to San Fagund, where Don Pedro halted on his return from the Asturias; and placed her, so to speak, in the king's arms.† This complaisance was

* This qestion will be hereafter examined. *See* Ch., XVI. I.

† This was probably the time that Hinestrosa received from the king the appointment of *Alcalde de los fidalgos*, the title that he bears in the treaty of Atienza, to which his name is affixed as one of the witnesses for Castile.—*Arch. gen. de Arag.*, Record No. 1737.

royally compensated. Hinestrosa and the other relatives of the favourite, suddenly emerging from their obscurity, appeared at court, and began to assist in the counsels of the young prince.

Immediately after the taking of Aguilar, Don Pedro, who had during the siege been separated from his mistress, hastened to rejoin her at Cordova. She had just presented him with a daughter,* whose birth was celebrated by magnificent fêtes. The greater part of Alonso Coronel's domains served the infant for an apanage; the remainder was distributed amongst the officers of the king's household.† It was remarked that this time, Don Juan de Alburquerque had no share in the spoils of his enemy. . The king, though still keeping up appearances, began to treat his minister with coldness. His young mistress secretly instigated him to throw off a tutorage which had become irksome, and to take the reins of government into his own hands. Flattered by the praises of a woman so ardently beloved, encouraged by the counsels of the Padillas,‡

* Doña Beatriz, who afterwards died at Bayona de Inglaterra. Abrev. quoted in Señor de Llaguno's edition of "Ayala," p. 83. The Spanish writers generally designate the English provinces in France as "Inglaterra."—*T.*

† The principal sharers in the spoils of Coronel were Pero Suarez de Toledo, the king's young Repostero Mayor, Dia Gomez, also a member of the great Toledo family, and Inigo Lopez de Orozco, whom the reader will meet for the last time at Navarrete. "Cronica del Rey Don Pedro," p. 85.—*T.*

‡ "Already," writes Ayala, "Juan Fernandez de Hinestrosa, uncleto Doña Maria, Diego Garcia de Padilla, her brother, and Juan Tenorio, who, about this time, had been appointed Repostero Mayor in the stead of Pero Suarez de Toledo, were *pri-*

and above all urged by a vague yearning to display his own energy of character, he yet wavered in his resolution, held back probably by the habit of allowing himself to be directed, by his ignorance of business, or perhaps by the respect, and even fear, with which the old servant of his father inspired him. Not daring to act openly, the king conspired against his minister in secret. Aided by the Padillas, he had engaged in a negociation which was carried on with profound dissimulation, and the object of which was no less than to overthrow all the political schemes of Alburquerque. He projected a complete and sincere reconciliation with his brothers Don Enrique, and Don Tello. With their assistance and that of the Lara party, whom the Conde de Trastamara was to win over to his side, Don Pedro had no doubt that he might make himself absolute master, and rule according to the bent of his inclination. It was like a conspiracy of scholars against their tutor. There is reason to believe that the scheme was originated by

vados of the king. "Cronica del Rey Don Pedro," p. 86.—The last named of this triumvirate, who now succeeded to the influence of Alburquerque, belongs rather to romance than to history. Juan Tenorio, the Don Juan of Molière, Mozart and Byron, who have made his name as familiar to us as those of Robin Hood and Rob Roy, was a younger son of Don Alfonso Jufre Tenorio, a renowned Castilian admiral of Alfonso XI., and at an early age was admitted into the Order of La Vanda, an order of knighthood then in high estimation. His birth and the position his father held in the late king's councils, independent of his personal qualities, would naturally attract the notice of a young and headstrong prince like Don Pedro, whose favourite he became.—*T.*

the king, who imagined in his inexperience that he could find no friends more devoted than his brothers, no counsellors more disinterested than those of his own age. It will be thought that such a plot could not long have escaped the penetration of the old minister; such, however, was the fact. The secret was admirably kept, everything succeeded to the satisfaction of the youthful conspirators. Alburquerque fell into the first snare which was laid for him, by accepting a frivolous mission to the King of Portugal. To quit the court was to leave the field open to his enemies. During his absence, a cavallero named Juan Gonzalez de Bazan, attached to the house of the Conde Don Enrique, became mediator between the king and the two bastards.* The reconciliation was concluded with the same secrecy which had concealed the first negociations.

Meanwhile, Blanche de Bourbon was already in Castile, with a large retinue of French nobles, and the ambassadors who had been sent to demand her of the king, her uncle. The mother of Don Pedro and the Queen Doña Leonor had advanced to Valladolid in order to receive the princess. It was in this city that the marriage was to be solemnized, and they remained there for several months before Don Pedro seemed to think it necessary to join them. Released from the vigilance of his minister, and separated from his mother, he now felt himself a king and had taken up his residence at Torrijos, near Toledo, giving

* Compare Ayala, p. 88 and 90.

fêtes and tournaments* in honour of his mistress, of whom he was more enamoured than ever. Intoxicated with the amusements, and flattery of his young court, he seemed to have forgotten the alliance he had just contracted, and to be wholly engrossed in contriving new pleasures. In the midst of the gaieties of Torrijos, there suddenly appeared a severe countenance; it was that of Alburquerque, who was unexpectedly recalled by the public scandal. His language was stern and grave. He represented the affront done to the house of France, and the anxiety of all his subjects in Castile, who expected from their sovereign's marriage a guarantee for future tranquillity. The troubles which his malady had occasioned in the first year of his reign ought to have proved to Don Pedro, how critical would be the position of his whole kingdom were his death to take place before the birth of a direct heir. The respect due to a solemn treaty, the future well-being of his country, and the honour of the crown obliged him without further delay to conclude the alliance with the princess, his betrothed. Don Pedro, convinced against his will by this obvious reasoning, and yielding to the wonted ascendancy of his austere counsellor, consented to set out for Valladolid. About the commencement of May, 1353, he left Maria de Padilla in the strong castle of Montalvan under the care of a bastard brother of hers, named Juan Garcia de Villagera. Every measure which his love could suggest was taken to

* Don Pedro was seriously wounded in the arm in a tournay, in which he was one of the challengers. His wound perhaps contributed to prolong his sojourn at Torrijos.

render this place secure against an assault, neither did the king attempt to conceal that all these precautions appeared to him necessary to counteract the evil dispositions of Alburquerque. At last, sorrowful and ill at ease, he started for Valladolid.

II.

Much about the same time, Don Enrique and Don Tello, provided with a safe conduct for their journey by Gonzalez de Bazan, who in his official capacity was charged to invite them to the king's nuptials, had set out with so numerous a retinue, that it might have been taken for an army. Having arrived at Cigales, two leagues from Valladolid, they encamped there with six hundred lancers, and fifteen hundred Asturian foot soldiers, and proclaimed that they were going to the king's wedding; they would not, however, enter the city, unless their escort might be admitted with them. They recollected the assassination of Garci Laso de la Vega, and declared that they would not, like him, be deceived by the fallacious promises of Alburquerque.

A few days later, the king, attended by his whole court, made his entry into Valladolid. The next morning, the minister, accompanied by the king and a numerous body of troops, sallied forth, with the intention of attacking Don Enrique and Don Tello at Cigales. According to his version of the affair, the two brothers must have had some evil intention, or they would not have come attended by so powerful an escort, habited in coats of mail, and with colours

flying. Since they dared to appear in open field, the opportunity of exterminating them must not be lost. Although the king knew better than his minister the true designs of his brothers, he did not refuse to march against them. He was close upon Cigales, when there appeared an esquire of Don Enrique, armed cap-à-pie, the bearer of a message from his master. "The Conde," said the esquire,* "salutes you, and is hastening to attend your nuptials, in obedience to your commands. He beseeches you not to think it strange that he should advance with so large a train, knowing that his sworn enemy, Don Juan de Alburquerque, is equally well accompanied. Be assured, however, that my master is ready to throw himself upon your mercy so soon as you will deign to grant him security against the intrigues of a man whose power and resentment he has every reason to fear."

The king listened coldly to this harangue, then, whether through dissimulation, or the habit of leaving his minister to decide for him, he turned to him, saying, with a smile, "You have heard what this ambassador from the Conde and Don Tello says. Their message concerns you." Immediately Alburquerque cried out, that the Conde and his brother had made but a sorry excuse for their audacity in presenting themselves thus armed before their king, as if they doubted his ability to maintain peace and order in his court. Had they not received a safe conduct? To regard that as insufficient was an act of rebellion. In this so great insolence he recognised the

* Alvaro de Carrero.

traitorous counsels of Pero Ruiz de Villegas, the confidant of the two brothers.* Don Pedro then sent back the esquire, charging him to tell the Conde that he must immediately place himself at his mercy, and dismiss his men-at-arms. He added a few kind words to assure his brothers that they had nothing to apprehend from him.

On the part of Don Enrique, the secret had been as well kept as on that of the king, and all his suite were ignorant of the negociations conducted by Gonzalez de Bazan. Opinions were divided upon the return of the esquire, many advising an immediate retreat, others proposing to trust to the king's clemency. To try the fortune of war seemed to all an act of insanity. Without listening to any one, Don Enrique ranged his men in battle array, and waited unmoved the approach of the little army from Valladolid. Between the two bands flowed a stream, having high banks on either side, which would have presented a serious obstacle to the first who decided upon taking the offensive; but neither the king nor his brother had the slightest intention of coming to an engagement. Alburquerque alone urged the conflict, and promised victory. Whilst the king's soldiers, fatigued by their long march, were taking breath, conferences were pending between the rival forces. At the king's command, Diego Garcia de Padilla, brother to his mistress, and Juan de Hinestrosa,

* Major-domo of Don Tello; his name is affixed to the scroll declarative of the act of homage rendered by the young prince to the king and queen at Llerida the preceding year.

went to parley with the Conde de Trastamara. The choice of such envoys was sufficient to prove that Don Pedro would not follow the warlike counsels of his minister.

I cannot refrain from here citing an anecdote which marks the punctilious etiquette and chivalric courtesy of the period. In front of the lines of Don Enrique, the king perceived a cavallero, wearing over his coat a scarlet vest and golden scarf. These were the insignia of an order of chivalry founded by the late king, Don Alfonso, and at that time in high estimation.* The knights of the scarf might only be chosen from among the vassals of the king, or those of the Infante, his heir presumptive. Don Pedro wished to know the name of this cavallero. His attendants told him that it was Pero Carrillo, a faithful servant of the Conde de Trastamara, and a relation of that Alfonso Carrillo, who was beheaded with Coronel at the taking of Aguilar. The king despatched to him one of his pages, Pero de Ayala, author of the Chronicle I transcribe, to ask how, not being his vassal, he dared to wear the golden scarf. Pero Carrillo, in sight of the two armies, immediately pulled it off, at the same time reminding those about him that he had received it from King Don Alfonso, as a recompense

* One of the rules of the Order of the Scarf was, that no cavallero belonging to the Order should ever ride mule or mulet, except under penalty of a silver mark. This regulation is alluded to by Montaigne, in his essay on "Destriers." The Conde de Trastamara, on ascending the Castilian throne, discontinued the Order in 1349.—*T.*

for having defended the breach at Tarifa against the Moors.* He added, that, as the king desired it, he would not again wear the scarf without his express permission. Carrillo's obedience pleased Don Pedro, who was apparently more sensitive to the usurpation of the insignia of a chivalric order, than to an open and armed rebellion.†

Despite the impatience of Alburquerque, the conference still continued. In vain he represented that it was just the hour for vespers, and that the Conde was only waiting for the night in order to escape; Don Pedro restrained his soldiers, and waited with the utmost composure the issue of the negociation. At last, towards the close of the day, the Conde Don Enrique, Don Tello, and about thirty gentlemen, might be seen advancing between the two armies, unarmed, and all on foot. They came to throw themselves upon the king's mercy. Don Pedro remained on horseback with his suite, and his two brothers passing through the midst of a line of men-at-arms, drew near to his stirrups. First Don Enrique, then Don Tello, kissed his foot and right hand.‡ Then the king, leaping to the ground, led them into a little hermitage, where for some time he remained alone

* Cronica de Don Alfonso XI., p. 419.

† Ayala, p. 91.

‡ I follow the text of one of the copies of the chronicle of Ayala, which is very improperly called the Abridgment. If, in subsequent copies, the details I have just given are suppressed, it is doubtless because they were thought too humiliating for a prince who eventually succeeded in obtaining the throne of Castile.—Compare the two versions, Ayala, p. 92, and the note of Señor de Llaguno.

with them, and several nobles of the two parties. There the Conde, in his own name and that of the knights who followed his banner, protested his entire submission, assigning as an excuse for his past conduct the fear with which he was naturally inspired by the powerful enemies who, as he said, had calumniated him to his lord. "Conde, my brother," replied the king, "I am glad to see that you, as well as Don Tello, our brother, now trust to my honour. Be assured that you will receive from me such favours as shall perfectly satisfy you." The two bastards then promised the king to deliver up to him all their fortresses, and forthwith placed in the hands of his alguazil mayor several important hostages, amongst others, the young son of Garci Laso.* The presence of this child, in the company of the Conde de Trastamara, sufficiently proved that his expedition had been concerted previously with Don Pedro, and was intended to have a pacific issue. The people received the intelligence of this reconciliation with acclamation. Alburquerque alone was displeased by it, rightly viewing in this transaction a proof of the growing power of the Padillas, and a humiliating check to his own authority. To his vexation was superadded the shame that he, an old politician, should have been duped by the children, over whom he had hitherto domineered.

III.

The marriage of Don Pedro with the princess of France was solemnized upon the 3rd of June, almost immediately after the interview at Cigales. The king

* Ayala, p. 93.

now showed as much impatience to conclude the matter, as he had formerly exhibited unwillingness and irresolution. No one, however, could attribute this change to the impression produced by the charms of Blanche. The king still appeared insensible to them; he hardly noticed her, but convinced that his marriage was a duty, and even a necessity, he hastened its accomplishment in order to obtain repose. The betrothed pair were led in great pomp to the church of Santa Maria la Nueva. The order of the procession seemed to have been regulated in such a manner as to prove to all beholders that the disturbances of Castile were now terminated for ever. The Conde de Trastamara, Don Tello, Alburquerque, the Infantes of Aragon, and the greater number of the Ricos Hombres, who had taken part in the late troubles, accompanied the royal progress, perhaps somewhat surprised at seeing themselves together anywhere but in a field of battle. First came Don Pedro and Blanche de Bourbon, mounted upon white palfreys, and clad in robes of gold brocade bordered with ermine, a costume then worn by none but sovereigns. Alburquerque was godfather to the king, while the Queen Dowager of Aragon, Doña Leonor, acted as the young queen's mother. It was remarked that Doña Margarita de Lara, sister to Don Juan Nuñez, was selected for her maid of honour, and as though Blanche had purposely surrounded herself with proscribed persons, she had for her esquire the Conde de Trastamara, who held the bridle of her horse. The Infante, Don Fernando, led his mother, Doña Leonor's horse, and his brother, Don Juan, performed the like office for

Queen Maria. Thus, in this procession, the bastard Don Enrique, took precedence of the Infantes of Aragon, an honour which some thought excessive, and which was by others considered merely as a proof of the sincerity of the reconciliation between the sons of Don Alfonso.

The religious ceremony was followed by a tourney, *juegos de cañas*, and a bull-fight, which festivities were renewed the next day. But in the midst of these rejoicings, all eyes were turned with curiosity towards the newly-married pair. Every one could read in the countenance of the king, coldness and even aversion to his fair companion, and as this insensibility to the attractions of the French princess was difficult to account for, in a man of his age and ardent temperament, it was whispered from one to another that he had been spell-bound by Maria de Padilla, and that his eyes, enchanted by her magic art, could see only a repulsive object, instead of the youthful beauty he had just led to the altar.*

* The enchantment of Don Pedro by Maria de Padilla is the popular tradition in Andalucia, where both of them are held in lively remembrance. It is moreover added, that Maria de Padilla was a Queen of Gitanos, their *bari crallisa*, consequently skilled in the art of preparing philters. But unfortunately the gipsies did not appear in Europe till a century later. The author of the early life of Pope Innocent VI. gravely relates, that Blanche having presented to her husband a golden girdle, Maria de Padilla, aided by a Jew, a learned sorcerer, changed the girdle into a serpent one day that the king wore it. The surprise of the king and indeed of the whole court, when the girdle began to writhe and hiss, may be imagined; upon which Maria de Padilla easily managed to persuade her lover that Blanche was a magician,

Aversion, like sympathy, has its inexplicable mysteries; nevertheless, grave authors, both ancient and modern, have endeavoured to find some real or plausible motive for the estrangement of Don Pedro from his bride. Modern writers, however, not having, like their predecessors, the convenient resource of magic, have not scrupled to sully the young queen's character, which was respected by all her contemporaries, by an odious calumny.* It has been alleged that Don Fadrique was one of the ambassadors charged to demand of the King of France the hand of his niece, and that, on her journey from Paris to Valladolid, Blanche had fallen a victim to the seductions of her brother-in-law.† If this

who, by her arts, meditated his ruin.—Baluze, "Histoire des Papes d'Avignon," vol. i. p. 224; Ayala, p. 95. The story of the girdle is also told in the Latin chronicle of Roderic Sanchez de Arevalo, Bishop of Palencia, and is mentioned by Polydore Virgil, who accounts it a fabrication of Queen Blanche—a conjecture not very creditable to the learned historian's discernment.—*T.*

* There is extant one fragment of an old ballad, which runs as follows:

Entre las gentes se dice,
Mas no por cosa sabida;
Que la reina Doña Blanca,
Del Maestre esta parida.

Even here, it will be observed that Blanche's guilt is spoken of as a mere report; not as a thing known. Thus, while numerous contemporary romances bear testimony to Blanche's meekness, piety, and unmerited misfortunes, this single stanza, among the many scandalous verses that were probably circulated by Don Pedro's partisans during his lifetime, has alone been handed down to posterity.—*T.*

† *See* Gracia Dei, in the "Seminario erudito" of Valladares,

were really the case, the king's aversion to his wife, and hatred to Don Fadrique, the result of which I shall hereafter have to relate, might be both ascribed to jealousy. I have, however, no hesitation in declaring these suppositions to be utterly false. Don Fadrique did not form part of the Castilian embassy, and indeed did not quit the Peninsula at the period of the negociations between France and the Castilian court. There are authentic documents existing which attest his residence in the south of Spain during the early months of the year 1353, and at the time of the king's marriage he had never even seen his sister-in-law.* It may be added that if there really had been any excuse for breaking off this marriage, any real grievance, or even the very slightest imputation against the character of Blanche, Don Pedro would doubtless have eagerly seized the opportunity, now that freed from his minister's tutorage, and enthralled by his love for Doña Maria, he wished nothing

vol. 28, p. 237; and "El Rey Don Pedro defendido" of the Conde de la Roca, p. 15, verso 44. The Conde adds in his off-hand style: "If the Infante Don Fadrique was a year and more, as is asserted, conducting Queen Blanche to Valladolid, it proves that either the roads were very bad, or that they did not take the best."

* The contract of Blanche's marriage exists in the archives of the kingdom, dated Paris, 2nd of July, 1352. It is signed by the two Castilian ambassadors, Don Juan Sanchez de las Roelas, formerly Bishop of Seville, Bishop elect of Burgos, and Don Alvar Garcia de Albornoz. Carton, J. 603, pièce 55. — To all appearance, Don Fadrique never quitted Llerena before the king's marriage, at which, moreover, he was present.—*See* the note of Señor de Llaguno in Ayala. p. 112, upon this subject; consult also the "Apologia del Rey Don Pedro," by Don Joseph Ledo del Pozo, p. 189.

more ardently than to exercise his own authority and power.

No one at Valladolid was ignorant of the king's sentiments, and a report had spread that he would shortly leave the city and return to his mistress. On the 5th of June, that is to say, two days only after the solemnization of his marriage, while Don Pedro was dining alone* in his palace, his mother and aunt entered, bathed in tears, and requested to speak to him in private. The king immediately quitted the table and led them into his cabinet.

"Son," said the queen-mother, "we hear that you intend leaving us in order to rejoin Doña Maria de Padilla. We come to conjure you not to act thus, and to consider what an affront it will be to the King of France who has just sent you his niece, with so much state and magnificence. Would you thus leave her at the moment when you have just been united to her at the holy altar, in the presence of all the nobles of your realm? What will all our Ricos Hombres, who have come from so great a distance to do you honour, think, if you depart in this manner without making them proper acknowledgments, without even addressing a single gracious word to them?"

The king interrupted her by saying that he was much surprised that they should give credit to such unfounded reports, and after repeating that he had no intention of quitting Valladolid, hastily dismissed them. An hour later, he called for mules, announcing that he

* Nine or ten o'clock in the morning was then the ordinary dinner time.

was about to visit his mother; but in reality purposing to leave the town accompanied only by Diego de Padilla, the brother of his mistress, and two others of his most intimate cavalleros. Relays were ready at certain distances, and he rested that night, sixteen leagues from Valladolid. The next morning, he found Doña Maria at the Puebla de Montalvan, whither she had come to meet him.*

This event had been foreseen; great, however, was the surprise at Valladolid, although rather feigned than real on the part of the two bastards, between whom and the Padillas there was already one bond of union, namely, a common hatred of Alburquerque. Two days after the departure of the king, Don Enrique and Don Tello went to Montalvan, where they were soon followed by the Infantes of Aragon, and the majority of the young nobles, amongst whom was remarked the son-in-law of Coronel, Don Juan de la Cerda, lately recalled from exile.† There was universal eagerness to pay homage to the rising sun. A small number of Ricos Hombres, however, declared that this scandal would produce great misfortunes, and instead of following the Court went to shut themselves up in their castles. This was the ordinary prudential measure whenever civil wars were apprehended. At the same time the secret understanding of the bastards with Pedro became evident, for, by the king's command, their hostages were set at liberty. The Lara party again

* Ayala, p. 95.

† The King of Portugal had obtained his pardon from Don Pedro, and Don Juan had returned to the Castilian Court with Alburquerque apparently reconciled to him.—Ayala, p. 35.

raised its head, proclaiming, with transport, that the odious domination of Alburquerque had ceased.

IV.

After the first moments of consternation, Alburquerque presented himself before the three disconsolate queens, accompanied by Don Juan Nuñez de Prado, the Master of Calatrava, and his own intimate friend. No less irritated than the royal ladies, but having found time to regain his self-possession and authoritative demeanour, he swore to them that their cause was his, and that, after having chastised the insolent adventurers who had poisoned the mind of the king with their perfidious counsels, he would bring Don Pedro back. He immediately set out for Toledo, whither the king had already repaired with the Padillas, his brothers, and the Infantes of Aragon. Alburquerque left Valladolid with a retinue of more than 1500 cavaliers, some mounted upon horses, others upon mules. To the troop of hidalgos of his own house, and the usual number of dependants, were added a large number of knights, vassals, or pensionaries of the king,* who were as yet undecided whether they

* Among the cavalleros who, by virtue of their offices or otherwise, were attached to the king's service, yet still remained with Alburquerque, uncertain what turn affairs might take, were Garci Fernandez Manrique, Rui Gonzalez de Castañeda, Alvar Perez de Castro, brother of Don Fernando de Castro, Juan Rodriguez de Sandoval, the same who opposed Alburquerque in the Cortes, on the question of partitioning the Behetrias, and Garci Jufre Tenorio, son of the famous admiral of Alfonso VI., and brother to Juan, the king's new Repostero Mayor. "Cron. del Rey Don Pedro," p. 99.—*T.*

should swell the youthful court, or remain faithful to the minister; all determined to observe matters more closely, and to study for themselves the countenance of the king, and the extent of the power of his new counsellors. The historian, Lopez de Ayala, and his father were among them.

At a short distance from Toledo, they met Don Simuel el Levi, the Jewish Grand Treasurer, and at that time high in the good graces of Doña Maria de Padilla, through whom he had become one of the king's most confidential advisers. He had been sent by his master with friendly overtures to the disgraced minister. "The king," said Don Simuel, "has still great respect for your experience, and now, as ever, counts upon your good offices. You may safely appear before him; but he is surprised that you are attended by so numerous a retinue, and he begs you to dismiss your attendants."

After having thus spoken in the king's name, the Jew added a few words on the part of the Padillas. If he might be believed, they desired nothing better than to enter into a compact with Alburquerque, and felt assured that a single interview would suffice to bring about a sincere reconciliation. The treasurer of Don Pedro had not come alone, and whilst he was speaking to the fallen minister, some cavalleros, who had left Toledo with him, conversed with their friends just arrived from Valladolid. Some of them did not attempt to conceal that they were making great preparations for war at Toledo. All the gates, with one exception, were blocked up, and the Alguazil-mayor, who was charged with the police regulations of the city,

had just been cashiered, and replaced by a creature of the Padillas.* These disclosures slightly disturbed the confidence of Alburquerque. He halted, and took counsel with his friends. A second message arrived from the king, pressing him, with an urgency that appeared suspicious, to repair immediately to the Alcazar. Contrary recommendations, sent by his secret partisans at Toledo, increased his distrust, and made him apprehend an ambuscade. So soon as his irresolution betrayed his alarm, all his servants trembling for his safety, conjured him not to place himself in the power of a weak-minded prince, ruled by a treacherous faction. Alburquerque had cause to apprehend cruel reprisals, and had, moreover, himself taught his enemies to make light of oaths. He followed the dictates of prudence, and turned back, after having despatched to the king his Majordomo, Ruy Diaz Cabeza de Vaca, with this haughty message, "Sire," he said, "Don Juan Alonso kisses your hands, and commends himself to your favour. He would be this moment in your presence, if he had not learned that evil-minded counsellors have calumniated him to you. You know, Sire, all that Don Juan Alonso has done in your service, and in that of the queen, your mother. He has been your

* The new Alguazil-mayor was Alfonso Jufre Tenorio, "hermano de Don Juan Tenorio Repostero mayor del Rey e su privado, que era amigo de los parientes de Doña Maria de Padilla."—*Cronica del Rey Don Pedro*, p. 100. From this it is evident that the Tenorio family owed the favour it enjoyed at court to the popularity of the young friend of the Padillas and of Lord Byron. Alonso Jufre was the head of the house.—*T.*

Chancellor ever since your birth. He has always served you loyally, as he served the late king, your father. For you he ran great personal risk at the time when Leonor de Guzman and her faction had supreme power in the kingdom. As yet my master is ignorant of the crimes laid to his charge; when they are known to him, he will immediately clear his character. Meanwhile, if any cavallero question his honour and his loyalty, I, his vassal, am ready to answer him with my body, sword in hand."

Don Pedro listened coldly to the proud speech of Cabeza de Vaca, and the defiance which terminated it; then he answered briefly, that if Alburquerque put faith in idle rumours, he was free to retire whenever it seemed good to him; but that if he were wise, he would trust to the king's clemency.* He then abruptly dismissed the messenger, ill concealing his satisfaction at getting rid of an inconvenient monitor. Perhaps, ashamed of discharging his father's faithful adviser, he was pleased to see Alburquerque retire of his own accord. As soon as he felt himself free, he no longer disguised his intentions, but removing the then possessors from all the several offices bestowed upon them during the late minister's day of favour, distributed them among the partisans of the Padillas. There was a complete re-action; and to be in disgrace at court, it now only sufficed to have been formerly distinguished by Alburquerque.

Meanwhile, the fallen and exasperated minister, his escort considerably reduced, re-took the road to

* Ayala, p. 98, and following.

Valladolid, after having stopped at Ferradon to consult with his friend, the Master of Calatrava. Both agreed that, for the present, open resistance was impossible, that they must wait with patience the return of fortune, and keeping upon their guard, live at a distance from the court, the one on the Portuguese frontier, in the midst of his own domains, the other in one of the castles of his order, surrounded by his knights. Before setting out for his fortress, Alburquerque took leave of the three queens, and gave them his last advice; then collecting the treasures which he had kept in his various castles in Castile, he went and shut himself up in the fortress of Carvajales, which had been selected as the place of meeting for his trusty friends. Besides those attached to his house, who always accompanied him, his escort was augmented during his march by a tolerably large number of cavalleros, who were resolved to share his fortune. All these, imagining a civil war to have commenced, pillaged and laid waste the countries through which they passed.* This was the ordinary mode by which a feudal lord testified his dissatisfaction. Alburquerque, if he did not encourage these excesses, at least took no measures to repress them; probably he was not unwilling to compromise his adherents, and thus ensure their fidelity by the apprehension of the punishment which such conduct in his service would entail upon them.

Don Pedro, engrossed solely by his passion for

* Ayala, p. 104, Abreviada, *see* note 2.

Maria de Padilla, never once thought of pursuing the fugitive, but celebrated by carouses and fêtes what he termed his real accession to the throne. Whilst the youthful court was diverting itself at the expense of the disgraced minister, Doña Maria de Padilla, satisfied with having displayed the extent of her power, gave an example of moderation unusual in her position. She advised the king to return to Valladolid for some time, and to visit his bride, in order to prevent scandal and save appearances.* Secure of her lover's affections, she considered his reputation so long as she was not sacrificed to it. Accordingly, Don Pedro, though with manifest reluctance, re-appeared at Valladolid, and remained two days in the same palace with his wife. Then, as if weary of playing a part which he could so ill sustain, he suddenly returned to his mistress. Vainly did the Padillas entreat him to prolong his stay in Valladolid; they could not induce his impatient spirit to remain there an hour longer. This was the last time that he saw his wife, and a visit thus abruptly terminated seemed but an additional insult. The Vicomte de Narbonne, and other French nobles who had accompanied Queen Blanche to Castile, indignantly departed, without taking leave of the king. The queen-mother conducted the forlorn bride to Tordesillas, on the Duero,† the place of residence, or

* The sensible advice of the favourite was seconded by her relatives, by Gutier Fernandez, and by Juan Tenorio.—*Cronica del Rey Don Pedro*, p. 103.—*T.*

† Ayala, p. 105, and following.

rather of exile, which Don Pedro had assigned her.

It is the common delusion of disgraced ministers to imagine a revolution must needs follow their retirement from office. Alburquerque, shut up in his castle of Carvajales, saw with vexation, the indifference of Castile. Although the conduct of the king towards his wife was generally blamed, his frank resolution to govern by himself was much applauded; his reconciliation with his brothers had been seen with pleasure, and above all, the favour which he had shewn to the Lara party, whose name was generally popular in most of the provinces, gave universal satisfaction. Maria de Padilla appeared gentle and obliging, seeking to conceal her power, or only revealing it by her generous actions; her relations were clever, and it was admitted that they served the king efficiently. How could it possibly concern the Commons and the majority of the nobility, whether certain court offices were occupied by the creatures of Alburquerque, or by the relatives of the favourite? With the exception of a small number of Ricos Hombres, who were personally affected by his disgrace, Alburquerque felt that he was forsaken by the people as well as by his king. Despairing of regaining power, he now began to tremble for his immense wealth. His wide lands were a strong temptation, and pretexts were not wanting for seizing them. Complaints arose from all quarters against the disorders caused by his adherents, whose conduct, as imprudent as culpable, gave to his retirement the character of rebellion. He must devise some means

of disarming the king's anger. Misfortune had speedily humbled his pride, and he eagerly accepted a kind of treaty that was offered him in his sovereign's name. He consented to deliver up his sons as hostages, and to give security for the good behaviour of his vassals. In return, the king guaranteed to him the possession of all the lands he held in Castile, and granted him permission to reside in Portugal.* The Infante, Don Fernando de Aragon, was invested with the office of Lord High Chancellor.

Though proud of having humbled the most powerful of his great vassals, Don Pedro had no wish to crush him entirely. He could not forget the long services of Alburquerque under King Don Alfonso ;,and, perhaps, his conscience reproached him for having withdrawn his favour at the very time when he was receiving from him the most valuable counsels. But though he might find some excuse for the ill-temper of the disgraced minister, and even the depredations of his undisciplined vassals, he regarded as an unpardonable act of treason the conduct of certain knights, who, though attached by their office to his own person, instead of following him to Toledo, had joined Alburquerque's partisans, and seemed to have proffered their services to the opponents of their master. Don Pedro had been instructed by his father and by Alburquerque himself, that disobedience to the double authority of king and feudal lord, was the greatest

* Ayala, p. 106. The negociations between Alburquerque and the king were conducted by Juan Tenorio and Suer Perez de Quiñones, whom Don Pedro despatched to Carvajales for that purpose.—*T.*

of all crimes. Young, imperious even to harshness, he desired to be feared, above all by those Ricos Hombres who were placed so near the throne that they seemed to him like so many rivals. He openly announced his intention of administering prompt and rigorous justice.

When Don Juan de Alburquerque had retired into his castle of Carvajales, the greater part of those cavalleros or hidalgos, who were immediate vassals of the king, had abandoned the minister to return to their master; a small number of the others had courageously followed Alburquerque into his voluntary exile, and until then, had formed a species of court which was not devoid of splendour. Now that their chief had unexpectedly submitted, nothing remained for them but to implore in their turn the royal clemency. They left Carvajales with Alburquerque's son, the hostage for his father's fidelity; but instead of directly repairing to Olmedo, where the king then was, they dared to stop at Tordesillas, and present themselves to the queen-mother, and the French princess, her daughter-in-law. There, no doubt, the wrath of Don Pedro, his unrelenting temperament, his threats, and the scaffold he was preparing, were painted in glowing colours. The majority were alarmed, and despairing to obtain pardon, determined on taking flight. Two knights only, bolder or more confident than the rest, ventured to continue their route to Olmedo. These were Alvar Gonzalez de Moran, and Alvar Perez de Castro, the brother of that Inez de Castro, who was mistress to the Infante Pedro of Portugal, and afterwards so famous through her

cruel death, and the honours which her lover paid to her memory. Doña Maria de Padilla, naturally humane and compassionate, wished to save these two brave gentlemen, against whom the king exhibited especial animosity. She warned them that they had not a moment to lose, if they wished to escape the punishment already decreed for them. Advice from such a source was too precious to be disregarded, and Moran, and Alvar de Castro immediately retraced their steps. At Medina del Campo they found, thanks to the care of the queen-mother, relays in waiting for them; and this act of forethought was soon proved to have been very necessary. Alvar de Castro especially, being hotly pursued, owed his safety entirely to the extraordinary fleetness of his horse.* The greater number of his companions, less fortunate than he, after having escaped from Tordesillas, were arrested by the king's officers, and led to Olmedo in chains. They expected immediate execution, but the anger of the king could not resist the prayers and tears of his mistress. After a

* On quitting Medina del Campo, De Castro took the road to Salamanca. Juan de Benavides, the king's Justiciar-Mayor, who had been despatched in pursuit, soon overtook his mules and baggage. The flying cavallero, however, arrived safe in Nueva Castro, and found there an old acquaintance, the Prior of San Juan, whom he besought to furnish him with a fresh horse, as the one he rode, the gift of the queen-mother, was almost knocked up. Whilst thus engaged conversing with the prior, Benavides entered the town. Don Alvar, on hearing this, remounted Doña Maria's good jennet, and went out at the opposite side. Meanwhile, the king's Justiciar-Mayor searched every house in Nueva Castro, imagining that Don Alvar lay concealed in the town. His search, however, proving unsuccessful, Benavides left Nueva

few days' detention, all these unfortunate men were restored to liberty.*

In the meantime Don Fadrique, the Master of Santiago, who had not seen the king since the death of his mother Doña Leonor de Guzman, reappeared at court, and was received with open arms. It might have been that Don Pedro wanted to assemble his brothers around him, in order to associate them in the government. Following the example of Don Enrique and Don Tello, the young Master of Santiago sought the friendship of the favourite's relations. Upon an intimation from the king, he took the Grand Commandery of Castile from Ruy Chacon, and bestowed it upon Diego Garcia de Villagera, a bastard brother of Maria de Padilla. As a reward for this ready compliance with his wishes, the king yielded up certain rights appertaining to his order, which had been contested by the crown.† Don Tello, on his side, took advantage of his brother's friendly disposition to obtain his consent to a very advantageous mar-

Castro, and arrived at Morales shortly after Don Alvar had quitted that place. At Morales, the king's Justiciar feeling both himself and his horse dead beat, sent Alvar Rodriguez Osorio, a cavallero he had found in the town, after the fugitive. Osorio, not daring to refuse, started; "but," adds Ayala, "sore against his will." His fresh horse soon came up with the jaded steed Don Alvar bestrode. Osorio, however, instead of capturing him, abetted his escape, pointing out a road to Castrotorafe, where Alburquerque was then staying. Don Alvar followed the advice of his friendly pursuer, and reached Castrotorafe in safety.—"Cronica del Rey Don Pedro," p. 108, and following.—*T.*

* Ayala, p. 108.

† Bulario de Santiago, cited by Llaguno. *See* Ayala, p. 116, note 3.

riage. In the late king's reign, he had been affianced when quite a child, to Doña Juana de Lara, the eldest daughter of Don Juan Nuñez, and now heiress of the Lordship of Biscay. The distrust of Alburquerque had always opposed this union. He had sequestrated all the estates of Doña Juana, and Biscay was thus annexed to the crown domains. As if he took pleasure in adopting any policy which was contrary to that of his minister, Don Pedro himself was present at the marriage of the heiress of the Laras, and restored to her all her estates. Immediately after the nuptials, which were solemnized at Segovia, with great pomp, Don Tello repaired to Biscay, to take possession of the rich dowry which his wife had brought him. It was in fact a little kingdom.

The king about the same time quitted Castile, and accompanied by his whole court, took the road to Andalucia, where he proposed to spend the remainder of the autumn and winter. Irritated, however, by the share the two queens had taken in the escape of Alvar de Castro, he first separated Blanche of Bourbon from Queen Maria, with whom she had lived ever since her arrival in Castile. The young princess, already treated as a prisoner, although a small court and a royal palace had been assigned her, was conducted to the castle of Arevalo and placed under the eye of the Bishop of Segovia.* The queen-mother received permission, perhaps a command, to go and reside in

* According to Mariana, she was not even suffered to speak to one of her guards. "Historia de España," lib. XVI., c. XVIII.—*T.*

Portugal, with the king her father.* These severe measures were accompanied by new persecutions, directed against the friends of Alburquerque. The king took from Gutier Fernandez de Toledo, the office of chamberlain, in order to entrust it to Diego de Padilla. All the relations of Gutier Fernandez shared in his disgrace, and saw the offices of which they had been despoiled, bestowed upon the family of the favourite, and the adherents of the bastards, upon whom as many honours were now lavished as in the time of the late king. Perez Ponce, Master of Alcantara, and uncle to Leonor de Guzman, had incurred a sequestration of his castles in Andalucia, on account of having been the first to take up arms upon the accession of Don Pedro. His fortresses were now restored, and he was solemnly reinstated in their possession† by the king himself, who appeared to have resolved to efface every remembrance of Alburquerque's administration; men and things were alike relentlessly changed.

V.

It was by acts of authority similar to these, that Don Alfonso had prefaced his glorious reign. Don Pedro wished to imitate that great prince in every respect. Accusing his late minister of partiality and injustice, he announced, with perhaps a little too much confidence, that now that he reigned alone, neither

* Ayala, p. 113.

† Compare Ayala, p. 114; Rades, "Cronica de Alcántara," p. 27.

rank nor favour should influence him. Of all the promises made to the Cortes of Valladolid, that one was the most faithfully kept, by which he solemnly pledged himself to attend to every complaint brought before him:* Affable to the multitude, although frequently stern and haughty to the great, he would be acquainted with everything—would see everything with his own eyes. After the example of the caliphs, legends concerning whom had doubtless amused his childhood,† he took pleasure in disguising himself and wandering alone in the night time, through the streets of Seville, either to gain an insight into the secret opinions of the people, or to seek adventures, and watch the conduct of the police of that great city. These mysterious rambles have furnished Spanish romancists and poets with the argument for a thousand dramatic stories, the majority little worthy of credence, but, nevertheless, remarkable, because one and all agree in the character they ascribe to Don Pedro, and are, thus, faithful echoes of the popular tradition, which is not entirely without value to the historian. In truth, although the people may not be strictly accurate as to facts, they are, upon the whole, correct judges of men. To them Don Pedro was the defender of the oppressed, the redressor of wrongs, and the fierce enemy of all the iniquities of the feudal

* In the court of the Alcazar, at Seville, near the gate *de las Banderas*, are shown the remains of a tribunal in the open air, where Don Pedro was wont to sit and hear causes.

† It is probable that Don Pedro did not understand Arabic; but the tales of the "*Conde Lucanor*" prove how familiar the Arabian romances were to the Castilians.

regime. It is true, however, that not much of this chivalrous spirit is necessary to satisfy the commonalty, who are usually ready to give their masters credit for good intentions. The justice of Don Pedro, which has become proverbial, was like that of the Moorish sovereigns, prompt, severe, almost always passionate, and frequently capricious in its form.

I may be pardoned for here relating a singular anecdote of the king's nocturnal ramblings, immortalized as it is by a monument still existing at Seville, and authenticated by the most careful writers, it ought not, I think, to be rejected by modern criticism on account of the romantic colours with which it has been embellished by tradition.

It is related, that one night the king passing alone and disguised through a back street of Seville, quarrelled with a stranger upon some frivolous pretext.* Swords were drawn, and the king killed his adversary. At the approach of the officers of justice, he took flight and regained the Alcazar, imagining that he had not been recognised. An inquest was held. The only witness of the duel was an old woman, who, by the light of a lamp, had confusedly beheld the tragical scene. According to her deposition, the two cavaliers had concealed their faces under their cloaks, as was the custom with the gallants of Andalucia; but the knees of one of

* Tradition, which is ever minutely circumstantial, relates that the stranger was keeping guard over a street, that is, that he was hindering passers by from entering it, either to speak without interruption to a woman, or to procure that facility for a friend. This custom a few years ago still existed in Spain, and was the occasion of many duels.

them, the conqueror, in walking, cracked; now every one at Seville knew that this cracking of the knees was peculiar to the king, and the consequence of some malformation, which did not, however, prevent him from being active and expert in all bodily exercises. Somewhat embarrassed by this discovery, the Alguazils could not determine whether they should punish the old woman, or, which would be still better, purchase her silence. The king, however, ordered a sum of money to be given her, and avowed himself to be the guilty person. It now remained to punish the offender, which was a difficult matter. The law was explicit in such a case: the murderer ought to be beheaded, and his head exposed on the place where the crime had been committed. Don Pedro ordered that his head, wearing a crown, should be modelled in stone, and the bust placed in a niche in the middle of the street which had been the scene of the combat. This bust was restored in the seventeenth century, and is still to be seen in the Calle del Candilejo, in Seville.*

This ingenious mode of escaping out of a dilemma, although conformable to the customs of the middle ages, proved rather the king's fertility of invention, than his impartiality. The following anecdote will give a more favourable idea of his justice. A priest provided with a rich benefice had deeply injured a shoemaker. On being brought before an ecclesiastical tribunal, the only one to which he was amenable, the priest was, for his crime, suspended for some months

* It is said that this name was given to the street in memory of the lamp which cast its light upon the duellists.—*Zuñiga Anales Eclesiasticos de Sevilla*, t. II, p. 136.

from the exercise of his sacerdotal functions. The artisan, dissatisfied with the sentence, determined to punish the offence himself; and, laying in wait for his adversary, inflicted upon him severe corporal chastisement. He was immediately arrested, tried, and sentenced to death. He appealed to the king. The gross partiality of the ecclesiastical judges had produced much scandal. Don Pedro parodied their sentence by condemning the shoemaker to abstain from making shoes for a year.

Although related by Zuñiga, a prudent and respectable writer, this anecdote savours perhaps too much of the popular legend, to be accepted by history. Nevertheless, it receives a kind of confirmation from a remarkable law, added about the same period, to the ordenamiento, or private code of the corporation of Seville. "Taking into consideration the numerous outrages committed by ecclesiastics (such is the expression of the legislators) who make use of forbidden arms without fear of God, or reverence for their own character, whence it arises that the laity revenge themselves by like means; and, inasmuch as the ecclesiastical judges do not punish the delinquents of their order, and make such an example of them as is just and right, I ordain and establish by this present law, that in future every layman who shall kill, wound, or treat dishonourably an ecclesiastic, or shall do any injury either to him or his property, shall suffer the same punishment as an ecclesiastic would who had acted in like manner to a layman. I desire that my alcaydes, before whom the matter shall be brought, inflict the same punishment and no other.

All this not to encroach upon the liberty of the church, nor to be applicable to any layman guilty of an act of sacrilege, or lying under the sentence of excommunication."* It would seem that the story of the shoemaker had perhaps provoked this law, certainly extraordinary, considering the age in which it was enacted; but it is also possible that the story is but a commentary upon the law, a popular fiction destined to perpetuate the remembrance of Don Pedro's justice.

This contempt of ecclesiastical immunities, which, in that period, might almost pass for impiety, did not prevent Don Pedro from meditating a crusade, a project worthy of his age, and natural to a Spanish prince. It is reported that a certain Abdallah, King of Tremecen, being hard pressed by the Beni-Merins, of Fez, had promised Don Alfonso, during the siege of Gibraltar, to embrace the Christian religion, and to do homage for his states, on condition that the Castilian would grant him assistance against his neighbours. Don Pedro had recommenced the negociations begun by his father, and asked Pope Innocent VI. for a subsidy, indulgences, and the standard of the church, with the intention of undertaking an expedition into Barbary.† Whether the conversion of the African prince were genuine, or only served as a pretext to obtain subsidies from the Holy See, Don Pedro was occupied for some time in making warlike preparations; but other cares soon interfered to distract his attention, and he found too much to employ him in his own kingdom, to think of conquests beyond seas.

* Zuñiga, An. Eccles., t. II, p. 137.

† Rainaldi, Ann. Eccles., year 1354. Ayala, p. 115.

VI.

During the king's sojourn at Seville, several of the partisans of Alburquerque, who, since his disgrace had quitted the kingdom, ventured to reappear in Castile, imagining that a few months' exile had sufficed to make them forgotten. Don Juan Nuñez de Prado, the Master of Calatrava, and the fallen minister's principal confidant, had sought an asylum in Aragon in the commandery of Alcañiz, a dependency of the order; for at that time, although the chief residence of the knights and master of Calatrava was in Castile, it nevertheless possessed considerable establishments in the other kingdoms of the Peninsula. Under the protection of the Aragonese, Nuñez de Prado might have braved the resentment of Pedro or, at least, obtained a special amnesty for himself, but after eight months' absence, regaining confidence, or perhaps deceived by treacherous promises* he returned to Castile and took up his residence in the commandery of Almagro. As soon as the king was informed of this, he hastened thither, preceded by Don Juan de la Cerda, who had, since the disgrace of Alburquerque, become one of his favourites. La Cerda, uniting the men-at-arms whom he had brought with him, to the city militia of Ciudad Real, hastened to surround the castle of Almagro. One of the brothers of Calatrava, a relation of the Master, advised him to depart immediately with one hundred and fifty knights, who were in the commandery, and at the head of that brave and

* Rades, Cron. de Calat., p. 54.

devoted little troop to force his way through the ill-disciplined militia of La Cerda.

"If we beat them," he said, "the road to Aragon is open to us; if not, we shall die like valiant men with harness on our backs."

"No," replied Nuñez, "never will I be reproached with disloyalty towards my sovereign. Let him come, and I will throw myself upon his mercy."

At the king's approach, the castle gates were opened and the Master himself brought him the keys. He was immediately arrested.* The king deposed him, and enjoined the knights of the order to choose Diego de Padilla as his successor. He would admit no excuse, and the sham election was consummated the same hour. As soon as Padilla had received the seal of the order, and the oaths of the brothers, the king delivered up to him the unhappy Nuñez de Prado, now again a simple knight, and as such amenable to his new Master. Padilla had him conveyed to the castle of Maqueda, where, a few days afterwards, he was put to death. The king, it is said, condemned this unnecessary act of cruelty, of which he seems to have been uninformed until it was too late to prevent it.

Nuñez de Prado was neither loved nor esteemed by his order, and his death was considered a just punishment for his past conduct. By his intrigues and insu-

* Compare Ayala, p. 116 and following. Rades, Cron. de Calat., p. 54. According to this last-mentioned writer, the Master of Calatrava had been arrested whilst at table with the king. Ayala's account appears to me more probable. Rades, moreover, does not cite his authorities.

bordination he had succeeded in carrying off the Grand Mastership from his predecessor, Don Garci Lopez de Padilla, who had originally made him a brother of the order. Upon that occasion, he had incurred excommunication from a legate of the Pope who had been charged to terminate a schism among the knights;* but in Don Pedro's eyes his principal crime was his attachment to Don Juan de Alburquerque; the king was further incensed against him by Diego de Padilla,† who, no doubt, had paved the way for his own election, and to this end had mustered a strong party of the knights, his influence having procured admittance into the order of Calatrava for a great number of his own creatures.

* Rades, Cron. de Calat., p. 51.

† The similarity of names gives us reason to suppose that Diego de Padilla, brother to the king's mistress, was a relative of the late Master of Calatrava, who had been thus supplanted by Nuñez de Prado.

CHAPTER VIII.

CIVIL WAR—CAPTIVITY OF DON PEDRO.

1354.

I.

THE violent animosity which the king manifested towards the friends of Alburquerque necessarily excited a violent thirst for vengeance in the haughty spirit of the Portuguese Rico Hombre; he, however, restrained himself, and from the period of his exile there is no indication of his having taken an active part in the affairs of Castile. But this moderation was not imitated by all his followers. The violence of the Padillas provoked similar acts of aggression, which furnished the king with a pretext for breaking the treaty which he had just concluded, and even for attacking the object of his resentment, the chief of the faction. In the spring of the year 1354, Don Pedro suddenly appeared with a little army before Medellin, a town in Estremadura, of which Alburquerque was lord. The inhabitants welcomed the king heartily, but the men-at-arms remained faithful to their master, and retreated into the castle. There, being unable to hold out, they obtained a species of capitulation, very common in the middle ages, they were permitted to inform their lord of the extremity to which they were reduced, and to

give him the opportunity of succouring them within a certain time. Upon the expiration of this term a vassal might, without violating his oath, surrender the place confided to his keeping. Alburquerque having replied that he was unable to enter the country, the castle of Medellin yielded to the king, who immediately caused it to be dismantled.*

After this success, Don Pedro quickly bent his steps towards the town of Alburquerque, the principal lordship of Don Juan Alonso whose surname was derived from it. Alburquerque was provisioned and guarded by a numerous garrison under the command of a Portuguese knight named Botelho, who had just received into his fortress as a friend, perhaps as a useful auxiliary, Pero Estabañez Carpentero, Comendador Mayor of Calatrava, and nephew of the late Master, whose tragical end I have just related. The king, irritated at seeing preparations for a vigorous resistance, and the more so inasmuch as he had not a sufficient army to carry the place by storm, passed sentence of high treason against the Governor and Carpentero. According to the law of the middle ages, this decree was unjustifiable, for upon the one side, Carpentero alleged that he had taken refuge within the walls of Alburquerque in order to escape the evil designs of the enemies of his uncle, and not as a rebel in arms against his sovereign; and on the other hand, Botelho, with still greater show of reason, maintained that, as a subject of the King of Portugal, and liegeman of Alburquerque he owed no homage to the

* Ayala, p. 118.

King of Castile, and consequently could not incur the reproach of felony by resisting his power. Furthermore, their good right was sustained by strong walls, and they were not men to sell their lives cheaply. The siege giving promise of long duration, Don Pedro left his two brothers, Don Fadrique and Don Enrique, with Juan de Villagera, before the castle, and after having despatched ambassadors to the King of Portugal, demanding that Alburquerque should be delivered up to him, returned to Castile.

Alfonso IV., the grandfather of Don Pedro, was then with his whole court at Evora, celebrating the marriage of his grand-daughter, who was betrothed to Don Fernando, the eldest of the Infantes of Aragon. In the midst of the festivities held on this occasion, the Castilian envoys obtained an audience; but before they spoke, Alburquerque, knowing the object of their mission, besought the king to hear him. He then eloquently defended the line of policy he had pursued in Castile, whilst at the head of affairs. After having skilfully alluded to the numerous services he had rendered Queen Maria, daughter of Don Alfonso IV., who was sacrificed by her husband to an unworthy rival, he endeavoured to justify the acts of his administration in these terms, or rather he passed this magnificent eulogium upon them: "I delivered my sovereign," said he, "from a powerful faction; I negociated for him an advantageous alliance with the house of Bourbon, an alliance which traitorous counsels are now labouring to break; I cemented the union of Castile with all the Christian kingdoms in Spain. In return for my services, I

asked neither money nor lands. The king disposed, as it seemed best to him, of the property of Garci Laso, and Alonso Coronel. I refused to profit by those confiscations.* Am I accused of having kept back any part of the royal treasure confided to my care? Let my accounts be examined, and my integrity will appear. I take this credit to myself, that during my administration, no new tax has been imposed upon the people of Castile. If any one assert that I have been disloyal to my lord, the king, I am ready to prove my innocency with my body, if you, Sire, will give me the lists, for in Castile I should not be safe. If the Conde, Don Enrique, and the Master of Santiago, will act as challengers for their brother, I will accept the combat, man against man, hundred against hundred. I will myself answer the Conde, and Don Gil de Carvalho, Master of Santiago, of Portugal, will second me against Don Fadrique."†

To this grandiloquent oration, the envoys from Castile replied, with no less heat, that Alburquerque, before indulging in idle bravadoes, had to justify himself to his sovereign, who was his sole judge, and, on their master's part, they demanded of the King of Portugal to oblige the accused to repair to Castile. Upon the one hand, the Portuguese Master of Santiago haughtily upheld Alburquerque; on the other, the Castilian Ricos Hombres, who had come to attend the nuptials of the

* We may be allowed to question the sincerity of this disinterestedness, since we have seen that the domains of Coronel were, for the greater part, bestowed by Don Pedro upon the daughter of Doña Maria de Padilla.—Ayala, p. 83.

† Ayala, p. 121, and following.

Infante of Aragon, sided with the ambassadors of their monarch. The quarrel grew fierce, insults and provocations were exchanged, and but for the prudence of the King of Portugal, blows would have been given even in his presence. Alfonso, desiring to gain time, replied, that Alburquerque would doubtless justify his conduct, and that, for his own part, he would send his grandson, the King of Castile, ambassadors who might effect a reconciliation.

II.

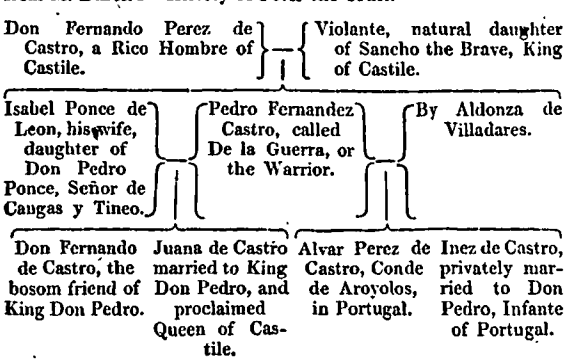
Whilst hostilities were feebly prosecuted on the Portuguese frontier, Don Pedro, leaving his two brothers to carry on the siege of Alburquerque, forgot his kingdom and his vengeance in a new passion. Maria de Padilla seemed to have lost the empire which she had hitherto exercised over his heart. Having suffered much for some time, and now feeling the period of pregnancy to be approaching, she announced her intention of quitting the court and the world, and retiring into a cloister. It is unknown, and it is a matter of little import, what lovers' quarrels had provoked this desperate resolution; but it is certain that Don Pedro, far from opposing his mistress's project, pressed its execution. He even wrote to the Pope to solicit the necessary authorities for founding a convent under the patronage of Santa Clara, of which Maria de Padilla was to be the superior, and where she would take the vows.*

* This permission was granted by Innocent VI.—*See* Rainaldi, "Annales Eccl.," year 1354.

The rupture was complete, and being made public, appeared irrevocable. The king was in love with Doña Juana, daughter of Don Pedro de Castro, surnamed De la Guerra, and widow of Don Diego de Haro, a descendant of the ancient Lords of Biscay.* As virtuous as she was fair, Doña Juana was proof against all temptations. The passion of the king only increasing with the opposition it met, he at last spoke of marriage, and offered his hand and crown to the young widow. Strange as this proposition appeared, the relations of Doña Juana at once perceived that a prince so violent and impetuous would overcome every

* Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro de la Guerra had had four children; two the legitimate issue of his marriage with Doña Isabel Ponce de Leon, (cousin of Doña Leonor de Guzman): these were Don Fernando and Doña Juana; the two others, Don Alvar Perez de Castro, and Inez, mistress of the Infante Don Pedro of Portugal, were the children of Doña Aldonza de Valladares.

The subjoined pedigree of the De Castro family is extracted from M. Dillon's "History of Peter the Cruel."


Don Fernando Perez de Castro, a Rico Hombre of Castile.
Violante, natural daughter of Sancho the Brave, King of Castile.
Isabel Ponce de Leon, his wife, daughter of Don Pedro Ponce, Señor de Cangas y Tineo.
Pedro Fernandez Castro, called De la Guerra, or the Warrior.
By Aldonza de Villadares.
Don Fernando de Castro, the bosom friend of King Don Pedro.
Juana de Castro married to King Don Pedro, and proclaimed Queen of Castile.
Alvar Perez de Castro, Conde de Aroyolos, in Portugal.
Inez de Castro, privately married to Don Pedro, Infante of Portugal.

obstacle. It was however first necessary to prove that he was free to wed. Don Pedro pretended that his marriage with Blanche de Bourbon was null and void, and upon this delicate point gave explanations which remained secret, but which satisfied Enrique Enriquez, the husband of one of Doña Juana's aunts, and Men Rodriguez de Senabria, a Galician knight, both of whom were charged, in the character of arbiters, to make inquiry into the position of the king. The arguments employed to convince them may be imagined, when we see Enriquez obtain as guarantee for the execution of the promise of marriage made by the king, the custody of the Castles of Jaen, Dueñas, and Castrojeriz. Probably the complaisance of Men Rodriguez was purchased in a similar manner. Don Pedro, thus fortified with their approbation, repaired directly to Cuellar, the residence of the fair Juana; she however exacted one more proof of his ability to marry ere her last scruples could be overcome. At her entreaty, two prelates, the Bishops of Salamanca and Avilà, were sent for by the king, and commanded to attest that he was free to contract marriage. Whether they yielded to threats, or suffered themselves to be won by presents, they did not hesitate to confirm the decision of the first arbiters. Doña Juana then consented, and the marriage was immediately solemnized in the church of Cuellar, where the Bishop of Salamanca pronounced a benediction upon the wedded pair.

However headstrong the passions of a king of eighteen, it is difficult to account for so scandalous an act as this; can we admit Don Pedro to have been really in error with respect to the vali-

dity of his union with Blanche de Bourbon? Ayala, the only contemporary who furnishes us with any information concerning this singular transaction, relates that the king, in order to prove the nullity of his marriage with the French princess, would have appealed to certain protests made by him at Valladolid at the time of his marriage; but of these protests there exists no trace, and, indeed, they were never afterwards produced. Besides what coercion could have taken place? At the period when Don Pedro joined Blanche, the authority, or, more properly, the domination of Alburquerque had yielded to the ascendancy of Maria de Padilla, *i. e.*, to the person most interested in finding arguments or pretexts against the marriage. Now, on the contrary, it has been seen that Maria de Padilla interfered to effect a kind of reconciliation between her lover and the young queen. What time could Don Pedro have found more favourable, not merely to protest against his marriage, but to break it off, than that of his arrival at Valladolid, when aided by the forces of Don Enrique and Don Tello, he had just shaken off the yoke of his mother and his minister?

Notwithstanding all these considerations, I do not think that we should absolutely refuse credence to the assumption of a protest having been secretly made by the king. He might, perhaps, while yielding to the entreaties of his mother and some of his counsellors, wish to reserve for a future day the means of declaring the nullity of an union which he had contracted with the greatest reluctance. Doubtless, any reservations he might then make, according to his own calculation,

could only be for the advantage of Maria de Padilla. Now he used them against her. His duplicity with regard to Doña Juana soon became manifest. Subsequent circumstances prove that, in a fit of ill-humour he sought to give Maria de Padilla, a rival, or perhaps only to show her that he could bestow his affection upon another. Fascinated for a moment by the beauty of Doña Juana, and irritated by her resistance, he had recourse to this sacrilegious farce, as the only means of vanquishing her scruples. No cost was too great, so that he could gratify his passion. He gains over to his interest the relatives of Doña Juana, he corrupts or intimidates the bishops, he takes all the oaths required of him, and at last succeeds in celebrating an impious marriage. But, no sooner has he enjoyed his new conquest, than he raises the mask. From the day succeeding that of his nuptials, his good faith may be duly estimated.

The stipulated order for the surrender of the castles to Enrique Enriquez is revoked. The same day he quits Doña Juana never to see her again, leaving her only the demesne of Dueñas, a kind of indemnity which he could not refuse his victim.* The sacrilege of a

* Compare Ayala, p. 127, and following. In the sequel, Doña Juana kept the title of queen. This appears to have annoyed Don Pedro, who, however, took no step to oblige her to renounce the title.

Juana de Castro lies buried in the metropolitan church of Santiago, where a magnificent tomb was erected to her memory. The royal arms and crown of Castile, and those of De Castro, without a crown, are engraven on the monument. Underneath the figure of the lady Juana, who is represented attired in royal robes, and wearing a crown, is the following inscription:—

[Aqui

double marriage did not arrest the course of Don Pedro for one moment; he was aware that all the odium would fall upon the bishops who sanctioned it. The age of the king, and his unbridled love of pleasure, scarcely allow us to attribute to him, in this transaction, the calculations of a crafty policy. We have, however, seen the clergy humbled by his decrees at Seville; perhaps at Cuellar, he exulted in compromising two illustrious prelates, feeling certain that the scandal of their compliance with his wishes would reflect upon the whole church, whose power and influence he sought to diminish.

III.

On the same day as that of the marriage of Don Pedro with Juana de Castro, very unexpected news surprised him at Cuellar. One of the cavalleros of his palace arrived in great haste from the frontier, announcing to him that the Conde de Trastamara and Don Fadrique had raised the standard of revolt, and that, leagued with Don Juan de Alburquerque, they were now preparing to enter Castile.

It is impossible to divest ourselves of a painful feeling when we see these young princes, scarcely twenty years of age, who had been treated by their brother with the most generous confidence, feign unbounded devotion to him, flatter his favourites, humble themselves at the feet of his mistress, encourage the weakness and irregularities of their sovereign; and a few days later disregarding their oaths, ally themselves with the assassin of their mother against their benefactor.

"Aqui yace Doña Juana de Castro, Reyna de Castilla, que fino en 21 de Agosto, Era de 1412."—*T.*

What a contrast between this precocious dissimulation, and the chivalric arrogance of the old minister, challenging the two bastards to meet him in the lists before the King of Portugal. Whilst in the retirement of his exile, Alburquerque, unjustly attacked, was making preparations for open war against the young princes, who had been ever the objects of his dislike, Don Enrique was coolly calculating the relative advantages of loyalty and treason. Undoubtedly he did not then dream of wresting the crown from his brother, but foreseeing in a civil war his personal aggrandizement, he wished, in order to render his rebellion more formidable, to obtain the support of the only man who then dared to make head against Don Pedro; Ayala, who cannot be suspected of calumniating a prince whose cause he served with his own sword, unhesitatingly asserts that the first idea of this alliance was conceived by the Conde de Trastamara.*

After the marriage of the Infante of Aragon, and his departure for Castile, the Portuguese Court was held at Estremoz, and Don Juan de Alburquerque followed it thither, when he unexpectedly received a message from the Conde de Trastamara, brought by brother Diego Ribadeneyra, confessor to the young prince. This monk proposed an alliance offensive and defensive; at first in general terms, but afterwards announcing certain important designs, which the two brothers would not communicate to Don Juan de Alburquerque, until they had received his oath of secrecy. Whatever surprise Alburquerque might

* Ayala, p. 124.

feel at such an overture, the offer of the two young princes served his plans of vengeance too well for him to hesitate to accept it with eagerness. An interview was immediately arranged, and to attest the sincerity of their defection, Don Enrique and Don Fadrique began with arresting the brother of Maria de Padilla, Juan de Villagera, who commanded conjointly with them the troops collected in Estremadura. After taking this decisive step, the new confederates met at Riba de Cayo, a village upon the frontier of Castile and Portugal, and there confirmed their alliance by the oaths customary upon such occasions. Alburquerque immediately counted out to the two brothers a sum of 200,000 maravedis under pretence of subsidies for their men-at-arms, and delivered to them, as pledges of his faith, several of his castles, among others the very one which they were charged by the king to besiege.

In this first conference, Don Enrique explained the plan he had conceived. He proposed to dethrone his brother, or at least to raise up against him a powerful competitor, who would, he thought, persuade the King of Portugal to join in the coalition. It was the Infante Don Pedro of Portugal whom Don Enrique wished to proclaim King of Castile, and who was grandson of Don Sancho, on the mother's side, and was thus one degree nearer the royal stock than Don Pedro, son of Alfonso and great grandson of Don Sancho. At this period, when the right of succession to the throne, but recently contested in the battle-field, was not irrevocably fixed, the transmission of the crown to the eldest male of the

royal lineage, a system still existing amongst oriental nations,* was allowed by the customs of the age, and moreover sanctioned by precedent. The exclusion of the Infantes de la Cerda, and the recognition of Don Sancho by the Cortes, legalized to a certain degree the pretensions of the Portuguese prince, and the confederates might fairly hope to get them admitted by a new Cortes. Such an arrangement would satisfy the pride of the nobles as well as that of the Commons. It was in fact easy to believe that Castile, owing its present greatness to the union of several states under one sovereign, would favourably receive a pretender who brought a vast kingdom as his portion. The project was therefore immediately adopted by Alburquerque, and transmitted to the Infante of Portugal by his favourite, Alvar de Castro; it could not however immediately be carried into execution on account of the energetic resistance which it met from the reigning king, Don Alfonso IV. Not only did that monarch hasten to disclaim it, but he even recalled the prince his son from the frontier, and prohibited him from corresponding with the conspirators whose promises for a moment had seduced him.† At the same time when the alliance between Alburquerque and the young princes was concluded, Queen Maria, mother of Don Pedro, precipitately quitted the Portuguese Court, and anxious no doubt to avoid any suspicion of connivance with the rebels, returned to Castile by a circuitous road, as though seeking to avoid meeting them.

* Amongst the Turks, the heir to the throne is the nearest descendant of Othman. The heir presumptive of the reigning sultan, is his younger brother.

† Ayala, p. 125.

If the chronicler, however, may be believed, this long journey had its charms for her. Martin Alfonso Telho, a Portuguese knight, "held her horse's bridle the whole way," and thus entirely occupied by the passion which she had inspired, she sought solitude in preference to bearing a part in the great political events which were impending.*

No sooner had Don Pedro been informed of the treachery of his brothers, the intelligence of which was confirmed by Juan de Villagera, who had effected his escape, than, leaving for ever Doña Juana de Castro, the Castilian king hastened, on the day after his wedding, to Castrojeriz, the town that he had assigned to his immediate vassals as a place of meeting. He also summoned there his cousins, the two Infantes of Aragon, who had just returned from their visit to Portugal. The conspiracy of the Conde de Trastamara and the Master of Santiago had, however, extended beyond the Estremadura. On hearing of the rebellion of his brothers, Don Tello endeavoured to excite Biscay to revolt, and used all his efforts to raise troops from the wide domains of his wife, the heiress of the Laras. This was a fresh act of treason, proving to Don Pedro what kind of men they were whom he had loaded with favours. In the hope of creating a powerful diversion in Biscay, the king at once married the Infante Don Juan de Aragon to Doña Isabel de Lara, second daughter of Don Juan Nuñez, and disinheriting, by his own authority, the elder of the two sisters, Don Tello's wife, he bestowed upon the Aragonese prince, the title of Lord of Biscay and Lara.† He thus

* Ayala, p. 126.

† Ibid., p. 130.

opposed the Infantes of Aragon to his brothers, relying upon a fidelity magnificently paid for in advance. Although betrayed by his nearest kin, Don Pedro still believed in the strength of the ties of blood. This time he reposed his confidence in the devotion of his cousins; he was destined to gain cruel experience before parting finally with the illusions of youth.

In the midst of warlike preparations, to which he devoted himself with unvarying activity, he learned that Doña Maria de Padilla had a second time made him a father. There is no doubt but that the lovers were reconciled, since Doña Juana was forsaken like Blanche de Bourbon. The king gave his daughter the significant name of Constanza,* in which we seem to read a promise made to Maria de Padilla. He kept it more faithfully than those oaths he had sworn before the holy altar.

The confederates did not leave him time to celebrate his daughter's birth. Don Fadrique was the first to take the field. Leaving the town of Alburquerque, he entered Castile, and successively appeared before several castles belonging to the order of Santiago, which the commanders did not hesitate to surrender to him. One alone, Pero Ruiz de Sandoval, governor of Montiel, tried to reconcile the obedience he owed

* Doña Constanza afterwards married John of Gaunt, who, in right of his wife, claimed the crown of Castile. She inherited the taste of her countrymen, and established an annual *corrida de toros* at her domain at Tutbury, in Staffordshire. The feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, was the day appointed for this Spanish sport, which was, however, discontinued in 1778 in consequence of some accident.—*T.*

to his master with the oath which he had only recently taken to the king. It may be recollected that the knights of Santiago, when assembled at Llerena, two years previous, had done homage to the king for their castles, and sworn not to receive the Master of the Order within their walls without his permission. When Don Fadrique appeared before Montiel with the banner of St. Jago, Sandoval immediately gave the command of the place to a lay esquire, first receiving his oath to defend, and to surrender it to the king alone. Leaving the castle with his knights, he offered his services to Don Fadrique, expressing himself as ready to obey him in all things as the chief of his order. At that period, this subtle distinction between the military monk, and the governor of a fortress owing the king homage, appeared a delicate refinement in chivalric honour, and became one of those *fazañas*, or precedents, which for the future proved authoritative to those who aspired to the reputation of perfect knights.* Unhappily for Don Pedro, Sandoval's scruples found no imitators, and the oath of Llerena was not held binding by any other of the commanders of Santiago.

Meanwhile the king, at the head of a few troops, hastily assembled, waged war upon the domains of Alburquerque. At first he endeavoured to surprise Montealegro, an important town, where Don Enrique and Don Juan Alonso had placed their wives and military treasure for safety; but the town was strongly defended, and after a few skirmishes on the outworks,

* Ayala, p. 131.

Don Pedro was forced to depart in search of a more easy conquest. He took possession of several castles, or fortified houses in succession, the greater number of which surrendered without offering any serious resistance.

IV.

Every day revealed to the king the vastness of the scheme formed by his brothers, and their connection with all the malcontents in Castile. In the north, a powerful ally declared in their favour; this was Don Fernando de Castro, brother of Doña Juana, that wife of a day, whom Don Pedro had just abandoned. Don Fernando had, in Galicia, numerous vassals and an almost regal influence; he was irritated by the affront done to his sister, and had moreover another motive for joining the rebels. He loved Doña Juana, natural daughter of Don Alfonso and Doña Leonor, and as the price of his defection, the Conde de Trastamara held out hopes of his sister's hand. Vengeance and love, the two great chivalric passions, distinguished him from the rest of the rebels, who were actuated only by ambition or cupidity. Fernando de Castro was not less punctilious than Sandoval on the score of honour, and before resorting to arms must satisfy his conscience. The feudal code furnished him with the means thereto. The following was the expedient to which he had recourse to release himself from the homage he owed to the king. He crossed the river Miño, which separates Castile from Portugal, and encamped at Monzon, upon the Portuguese territory. Every day, after hearing mass, he forded the Miño, and entering Salvatierra, the first Castilian

town which meets the traveller coming from Monzon, pronounced these words in the presence of a public notary: "I here take leave of King Don Pedro, King of Castile and Leon, and *denaturalize* myself for the following causes: first, because the said king endeavoured to kill me in a tourney at Valladolid, at the time of his marriage with Blanche de Bourbon;* secondly, because he has insulted my sister, first saying that he took her for wife and queen, and then, after treating her with contumely, leaving her." After each of these declarations he received an authenticated copy from the hands of the notary, and thus provided with nine verbal processes, Fernando considered that he was absolved from his oath of allegiance. This time he quitted Portugal in real earnest, and hastened to arm his vassals, and to recruit for soldiers. Presently he invaded the northern part of Leon, at the head of 700 horse and 1200 foot soldiers, and having seized Pontferrada, and made it his head-quarters, he there awaited his allies, who were already in full march towards the province of Salamanca.†

Alburquerque and Don Enrique, without wasting time in idle formalities, had crossed the Tagus by the bridge of Alcantara, after having devastated the entire neighbourhood of Badajos. Obliged to leave garrisons in a multitude of petty fortresses, they had with them a body of four hundred horse; they did not, however, find enemies anywhere. With this small detachment, they arrived before Ciudad Rodrigo,

* I am entirely ignorant of the facts upon which this accusation is founded.

† Ayala, p. 135 and following.

hoping to draw over to their side the Master of Alcantara, Perez Ponce, who made it his place of residence. Of a truth, the Master did not welcome them, but forgetful of the favours he had recently received from the king, he made no effort to oppose their march, and preserving a strict neutrality, was ready to take whichever side might prove most fortunate.

Alburquerque and the Conde de Trastamara, frustrated in their attempts upon Ciudad Rodrigo, pursued their march towards the north, without encountering any opposition. They crossed the Tormes, not far from Salamanca, which place was occupied in the king's name by the Infantes of Aragon, with a considerable force; there did not, however, appear any intention on the part of Don Fernando and his brother to attack the little troop. According to all appearance, the two chiefs must have had some secret understanding with the Infantes of Aragon, or they could not have ventured thus far. The rebel army, convinced that no opposition need be apprehended from this quarter, continued to advance further into the northern provinces. Alburquerque effected a junction with Fernando de Castro at Barrios de Salas. The Conde penetrated even as far as the Asturias to incite these provinces to revolt, and recruit there for soldiers.* Upon his side, too, Don Fadrique boldly urged on his course. Traversing the whole extent of La Mancha, he marched upon Segura de la Sierra, at that time a very important place, situated upon the borders of the kingdoms of Murcia and Jaen, and one of the principal

* Ayala, p. 136, Rades, "Cron. de Santiago," p. 16.

commanderies of Santiago. This daring movement intercepted the king's communications with Andalucia; it tended to provoke insurrections in provinces hitherto neutral and faithful; finally, it enabled the confederates to open negociations with the Aragonese on the one side, and with the Granadine Moors upon the other. Castilians or foreigners, Christians or Moslems, everywhere the rebels were seeking allies.

Far from suspecting the motives for the inaction of the Aragonese princes, Don Pedro, believing them fully determined to oppose the progress of Alburquerque, had directed all his attention to the southern side, and hastily approached Segura, in order to prevent that place from falling into the power of Don Fadrique, or if that were impossible, at least to besiege it. Before setting out upon this expedition, he had given orders to transfer Queen Blanche from the Castle of Arevalo to the Alcazar of Toledo. He feared, and not unreasonably, that a surprise might place her in the hands of the rebels, who would make use of her as a formidable instrument to serve their own purposes. The execution of this order was confided to the uncle of Maria de Padilla, Juan de Hinestrosa, who had just been appointed his chamberlain.* This intelligence filled all the nobility of Toledo with indignation. To deliver the queen into the hands of the uncle of the favourite was, they said, to condemn her to death. No one doubted but that the king entertained the most sinister designs against her, and the unhappy Blanche

* He had probably obtained this office after the nomination of Diego de Padilla to the Mastership of Calatrava.

was already regarded as a devoted victim. When Hinestrosa appeared at the gates of Toledo, conducting his prisoner, and endeavouring to re-assure her by lavishing upon her every outward mark of respect, all hearts were moved with pity and anger. The ladies especially were highly excited, accused the men of cowardice, and in the name of chivalry, called upon them to avenge their injured queen. The *cortège* entered the city in the midst of a dense multitude, now greeting the queen with acclamations, now venting their indignation in threatening cries against her escort. The Bishop of Segovia, who accompanied the prisoner, requested permission for her to enter the cathedral, in order to pray before the famous stone which preserves the impress of the foot of the Virgin, and which is an object of veneration throughout Spain.* Hinestrosa was too courteous to refuse the request, and Blanche entered the church, the greater number of the soldiers remaining outside, surrounded by a noisy crowd, which increased every moment. Weary with a rather long attendance, and apprehending a collision between the rabble and his men, Hinestrosa respectfully announced to the queen that it was time to repair to the apartments which had been prepared for her in the Alcazar; she then, however, refused to leave the sanctuary. The clergy of Toledo surrounded her. The crowd had pressed into the cathedral, and Don Pedro's cham-

* Los Reyes Nuevos, by Don X. Lozano, lib. I, cap. X. It is upon this stone that the Holy Virgin placed her feet when she appeared to San Ildefonso, and presented him, according to the grave author I have just cited, a chasuble *de tela de cielo*, of linen from heaven.

berlain, being ill supported, and moreover disliking his office of jailor, did not dare to employ violence, and tear the queen from her asylum. After holding long conferences with the prelates and the principal inhabitants, he consented to allow her to take up her abode within the precincts of the cathedral, until he received the king's commands. On his own part, at the head of as many Toledan cavalleros as were willing to follow him, he departed to join the king at Segura, trusting that the city, when deprived of a portion of its young nobility, would become more submissive and tranquil. He was mistaken. The queen was perpetually visited in her retreat by a number of ladies, who came to condole with her upon her sad fate, and offer their services. The ladies of her suite, and more particularly her Camerara-Mayor, Doña Leonor de Saldaña, wife of the Lord of Haro, implored the compassion of their visitors, and besought them to save the innocent princess. "The king," said Doña Leonor, "is betrayed by perfidious counsellors. The Alcazar of Toledo will be the tomb of our queen, and soon you will see the uncle of Maria de Padilla return with executioners, who will sacrifice the princess to the hatred of an unworthy rival. Will the chivalry of Toledo permit so dastardly a crime to be consummated? Assuredly the king will one day be undeceived as to the real character of his favourites, and will then thank the faithful vassals who shall have prevented this commission of a crime."

Blanche uttered no complaint, but her tears, and the terror excited by the very name of her husband, spoke eloquently enough for her. The youth and beauty of the queen fascinated the young nobles; her

gentleness and piety touched the people; all swore to protect her against her enemies. The citizens formed a faithful guard for her protection, and continually watched the episcopal palace, as if anticipating a surprise. Suddenly a report was spread that Hinestrosa had returned to Toledo. Hidalgos and artisans immediately ran to arms, the streets were barricaded; in an instant the whole city was in commotion. The Alguazil-Mayor* and the alcaldes were thrown into prison. The people rushed to the Alcazar, broke open its gates, and drove away the garrison. The prison which her husband had destined for her became her palace, and her fortress; she was conducted to it in triumph. After the revolt, fresh anxieties arose. It was too late to sue for the king's pardon: some arrangement must be effected with the rebels. Don Fadrique was appealed to for assistance.†

V.

Meanwhile, Don Pedro, whose march had been delayed, was preceded at Segura by the Master of Santiago, who had already retaken that place. On arriving at the foot of the ramparts, the king summoned the Governor, Don Lope de Bandaña, one of the principal commanders of the order, requiring him, in accordance with the terms of his oath, to open the gates to him. The conscience of the castellan of Segura was less tender than that of the commander of Montiel; however, he had his scruples, and dared not commit

* Alfonso Jufre Tenorio.

† Ayala, p. 140 and following.

an act of open rebellion.* He had recourse to the following expedient, which is strikingly characteristic of the manners of that period. In answer to the king's summons, Don Lope appeared on the battlements, accompanied by some soldiers, and wearing a chain round his neck. "My lord, the Master," he said, "has returned to his castle, and taken me by surprise. I am his prisoner, and therefore cannot fulfil my oath, nor receive the king into this fortress, as the homage which I have sworn enjoins me."†

Although he was not the dupe of this farce, Don Pedro did not think it prudent to pass sentence of high treason upon this commander. After a few unimportant skirmishes with the garrison of the castle, being apprised by Hinestrosa that the queen had escaped from his hands, the king left some troops before Segura,

* Treason was more severely punished in Spain than in any other country in Europe. "The Partidas," says Dr. Southey, (p. 2, 13, l. 1), "speak of an old law, whereby any man who openly wished to see the king dead, was condemned to death, and the loss of all that he had. The utmost mercy to be shown him, was to spare his life and pluck out his eyes, that he might never see with them what he had desired. To defame the king is declared as great a crime as to kill him, and in like manner to be punished. The utmost mercy that could be allowed was to cut out the offender's tongue." Another law of the same code, also cited by Southey, provided that a father holding a castle for his lord, in the event of a scarcity of provisions, might kill and eat his own son. (Part IV. Tit. XVII, 8.) The Partidas were then in full force, the late king, Don Pedro's father, having adopted the code of his predecessor, the Emperor Alfonso; the castellan of Segura might therefore well hesitate to commit an open act of treason.—*T.*

† Ayala, p. 139.

and set out forthwith for Toledo. On his way thither, he held a chapter at Ocaña of those among the knights of Santiago who remained faithful, and obliged them to depose Don Fadrique, and elect in his stead Juan de Villagera, the bastard brother of Doña Maria de Padilla, although that cavallero was married, contrary to the statutes of the order. This election, illegal as it was, became nevertheless a precedent which eventually was recognised.*

The insurrection at Toledo was a heavy blow to the king's cause. Upon the intelligence spreading rapidly that the first city in the kingdom was in open rebellion, a number of Ricos Hombres and knights, until then undecided as to the course they should pursue, joined the rebels. The Infantes of Aragon were among the first to raise the mask, and declare themselves the allies of Alburquerque and Don Enrique, and soon after their mother, Doña Leonor, the king's aunt, joined them at Cuenca de Tamariz, of which place they had just taken possession. In this city were assembled the greater number of the chiefs, and it was there that they concerted and sealed their alliance. Until then, each of the rebels had made war in his own name and for his individual advantage. Each had his own grievances, for which he sought redress. Alburquerque complained of the unjust usurpation of his lands; Fernando de Castro alleged the outrage done to his house; the citizens of Toledo declared that they were in arms to defend their queen; as for Don Pedro's brothers and

* Ayala, p. 140.—Rades, Cron. de Santiago, p. 46. The king appoints Don Lope Sanchez de Avendaño to the commandery of Segura.

the Infantes of Aragon, assuredly Castile had yet to learn what charges they could bring against a king who had ever been generous and kind to them. At Cuenca de Tamariz, under the presidency of the Queen Dowager of Aragon, the confederates chose their banner, and published their manifesto. The popular sympathy, which had been so powerfully excited by the misfortunes of Blanche, convinced them that they could not do better than give her name to their cause. They therefore proclaimed themselves her protectors, and dispatched a herald to the king, summoning him to dismiss his mistress, to live as a good husband with his lawful wife, and, in fine, to choose other counsellors. They were, indeed, already in a position to dictate terms to their sovereign. The troops left behind at Segura, composed for the most part of the Toledan militia, had deserted, and now accompanied Fadrique as their liberator into the capital of New Castile. The Commons of Cordova, Jaen, Cuenca, Talavera, Ubeda, and Baeza, sent deputies to Toledo, in order to enter into a confederacy with its inhabitants. Each day some noble deserted the king to join the rebels. Nearly all the northern provinces were in a state of open insurrection, Alburquerque ruling supreme in the kingdom of Leon; De Castro in Galicia: the Conde de Trastamara in the Asturias. Don Tello, after having incited Biscay to rebellion, had brought troops to the assistance of the Infantes of Aragon, who were already masters of a part of Castile. All of these had written to Queen Blanche, assuring her of their devotion, and while spreading everywhere the fever of revolt, pretended to be merely executing her orders. Altogether their forces

amounted to six or seven thousand men-at-arms, without counting infantry.* The king, completely disheartened by this continued series of defections, could with difficulty retain six hundred horsemen about his person.

Don Pedro's first care in this extremity, was for the safety of his mistress. He hastened to conduct her, and his mother, the queen-dowager, to the strong castle of Tordesillas, which was situated in the midst of a country difficult of access, and which he trusted could offer a successful resistance to the rebels, if they had the audacity to attack it. This fortress, with the large town of Toro, and others in the neighbourhood of the Duero, were the only places which still recognized his authority. He was soon pursued, although at a distance, by the insurgents, who were reinforced by a fresh defection, namely, by that of Don Juan de la Cerda; for even the Lara faction now abandoned the king, and made alliance with its ancient foe. La Cerda, as forgetful of the death of his father-in-law, Alonso Coronel, as the king's brothers were of that of their mother, Doña Leonor, entered into a treaty with Alburquerque. The confederates laboured unremittingly to narrow the circle with which they had surrounded the king, just as the hunters track and run down a deer. Even while driving him into his last strong-hold, they frequently renewed their protestations of fidelity, but each time insisted with greater vehemence upon the pretensions advanced in their manifesto. The queen-dowager of Aragon was herself the bearer of terms of accommodation to the king, or rather represented to him upon

* Rades gives 7000 horsemen to the Master of Santiago alone. —*Cron. de Santiago*, p. 47.

what conditions he might yet preserve his crown; these were first, that Maria de Padilla should be banished to a convent in France or Aragon, and her relatives be dismissed from office; and secondly, that the king should return to his legitimate spouse, for since the insurrection at Toledo, the league affected to have taken up arms solely to revenge the wrongs of Blanche. "On those terms," said Doña Leonor, "the king will find none but submissive subjects, anxious in all things to obey him." Notwithstanding his ill fortune, Don Pedro remained inflexible. He replied haughtily, that he would never treat with the confederates until they had first laid down their arms, and asked forgiveness. At the same time, he wrote to the Infante of Aragon, then acting as regent of the kingdom, during the absence of Pedro IV,* to request that aid which he despaired of obtaining from his own States. This letter not only displays the diplomatic style of the period, but reveals some features in the character of the young king, and for that reason deserves citation.

"Don Pedro, by the grace of God, King of Castile, &c., &c., to you, the Infante Don Pedro of Aragon, health, as to one whom we love and esteem, and to whom we wish fortune and honour. We would have you know, that the Infantes Don Fernando and Don Juan, our cousins, and the brothers of the King of Aragon, living with us, and in our kingdom, being our vassals, and holding important offices in our household, and in our kingdom, wherein the Infante Don Fernando is Grand Adelantado of the frontier, and High Chan-

* Pedro IV. was then in Sardinia. Zurita, "Anales de Aragon," t. II, p. 257.

cellor; and the Infante Don Juan our Grand Standard Bearer, both holding of us extensive domains, for which they owe us service, receiving moreover money from our treasury, in order to assist us in the war that we wage with the Conde,* and Don Fernando de Castro, have secretly departed and joined the said Conde, Don Juan Alonso,† and Don Fernando, at the very time when we thought to employ them in our service, and, therefore kept them near us. They have taken with them Don Tello,‡ and have entered into a treaty and compact against us. They have, in fact, all and each

* Don Enrique, Conde de Trastamara, is generally thus designated. He subscribes himself as, "*I* the Conde." He was then, in fact, the only count in Castile; the Ricos Hombres did not yet bear titles. They, however, greatly coveted them, and the first act of Don Enrique, after his coronation in Burgos, was to create a large number of dukes, marquises, and counts. His father, Alfonso, had refused the ducal title to Don Juan Manuel, the grandson of King Fernando III., and the most powerful noble in the kingdom.

Don Enrique was not the first Conde de Trastamara. His father had given that title to Alvarez Perez Osorio—an especial mark of favour, inasmuch as no Conde had been created in Spain for many years past. The old Gothic ceremonial customary on such occasions was then revived. Three sops were put into a cup of wine and set before the king and his favourite, and the king said: '*Comed, Conde,*' (eat, Count), and the Conde said: '*Comed, Rey,*' (eat, King). This having been said three times by both, they ate of those sops, whereupon the bystanders exclaimed: '*Evad el Conde! evad el Conde!*'" "Cronica del Rey Don Alfonso XI.," p. 117.—*T.*

† Don Juan Alonso de Alburquerque.

‡ On the contrary, it was Don Tello who had sought the Infantes in Castile. We shall more than once have occasion to notice Don Pedro's excuses for Don Tello.

of them, at once commenced numberless illegal acts in this country, and are inciting it to war. And although, by the grace of God, we hope to restore order, and make an example of those who have borne a part in this great wickedness and desertion of their lord and king, we have thought it good to inform you of it, certain that you will take it to heart, and assist us against the said Infantes. Wherefore, we pray you to be with us against them, and their adherents; to attack and lay waste their lands, to take from them all that they have, so that they no longer may have the power further to injure us, you, or the King of Aragon. In this way you will do what is right, and as we would do for you, were you ever by ill fortune placed in a similar strait. From Tordesillas, the 28th day of October, in the year of the era 1392 (1354)."*

This letter, it will be seen, is distinguished by a tone of calm determination, which is not altogether devoid of dignity. The latest injury is that of which Don Pedro is most sensible. All his anger is directed against the Infantes of Aragon. He forgets his brothers; not a single bitter word against Don Enrique escapes him; he does not name Don Fadrique, and if he mentions Don Tello, it is only in some measure to excuse him, and to attribute to traitorous counsels the part he bears in the rebellion. His energetic character is not yet soured by misfortune. So much treachery excites his indignation, but he does not yet exhibit that unrelenting hatred, with which the bitter experience of the conduct of his contemporaries subsequently inspired him.

* Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tome II, p. 259.

By the terms of the treaty of Atienza, the court of Aragon ought to have afforded the King of Castile assistance; but in fact, it viewed with secret pleasure the disorders of that unhappy kingdom, and the impoverishment of a formidable rival. The reply was evasive, and Aragon abandoned Don Pedro to his ill fortune.

VI.

The confederates, notwithstanding the superiority of their forces, dared not offer battle to the king, or besiege him in any of the places which still remained faithful to him. The greater number of the Ricos Hombres, with the exception of a few chiefs, still respected the majesty of the throne, and shrunk from open violence. The towns, especially, whose militia formed the larger proportion of the army of the League, were inclined to moderation; besides it was hoped that through weariness, and the total exhaustion of his resources, Don Pedro would soon be compelled to submit to their conditions. Thus, without seeking to come to an engagement, the issue of which could not be doubtful, they only considered how they might seduce his soldiers, and gradually gain possession of the towns which still remained true to their allegiance. The majority, even of those most removed from the theatre of war, upon the report of the late events, gave in their adherence to the League; while the rest, preserving a prudent neutrality, sent neither troops nor subsidies to the king, and refused to admit the confederates within their walls. Of this number were Valladolid and Salamanca, whose town councils set forth pretensions to

independence. In the general anarchy, each province, each city decreed its own separate administration, and tried to found as it were a little republic. This tendency to isolation was always fatal to Spain, and has been manifested in every successive revolution.

The confederates, who were obliged to temporize with the more powerful towns, did not hesitate to employ main force to reduce those of less importance. They took Medina del Campo by storm, and having previously summoned its inhabitants to open their gates, delivered the place up to pillage. They here met with an irreparable loss. That man, the most fitted to maintain union amongst a number of nobles who were animated by opposite interests, Alburquerque himself, died suddenly at Medina, a few days after the capture of that town in the commencement of the autumn of 1354. His physician, Maestro Paolo, an Italian, who was attached to the house of the Infante Don Fernando, was suspected of having mixed a subtle poison in the draught which he had prescribed for an apparently slight indisposition. This charge naturally involved the king, who was more interested than any one else in Alburquerque's death, and eventually, Don Pedro justified but too well the imputations of his enemies, by making this man magnificent presents, apparently not so much as a reward for his professional skill, as the payment of a crime.

Alburquerque, in his last moments, did not belie the firmness of his character. When at the point of death, he assembled his vassals, and made them swear to make neither peace nor truce with the king, until they had

obtained satisfaction for his wrongs. He directed that his body should be carried at the head of their battalion, so long as the war lasted, as though unwilling to lay down his hatred and authority until they had triumphed over his enemies. From the depth of his coffin, he still seemed to preside over the counsels of the League, and each time that they deliberated upon their common interests, his corpse was interrogated, and his major-domo, Cabeza de Vaca, replied in the name of his deceased master.*

A short time after the death of Alburquerque, Don Fadrique, the Master of Santiago, rejoined the main army of the League, bringing with him from Toledo, a body of five or six hundred horsemen, and all the money found in the coffers of Don Simuel el Levi, the king's treasurer, besides a considerable sum that queen Blanche had herself delivered to him. This assistance arrived most seasonably, as it enabled the chiefs of the League to retain in their service the bands of mercenaries, by whose means they had established their authority. Both parties were determined to prolong the war; the young princes because they saw the king's distress augment daily, Don Pedro because his only hope was to divide his antagonists, by treating with them separately. In fact, conferences without number were held, the cavalleros of the two camps meeting each other with a courtesy, which sufficiently bore witness to the indifference they felt for the quarrel of their chieftains. One day, the king being at Toro, received

* Ayala, p. 152.

ambassadors from the League. Before listening to the propositions of which they were the bearers, he ought, according to the etiquette of the period to have assigned them a residence with one of the nobles of his court. This species of hospitality was then held in high estimation. Fernando Alvarez de Toledo and Alfonso Jufre Tenorio, disputed vehemently the privilege of lodging the hostile envoys. From words they came to blows, and each calling his friends to his aid, there ensued even in the presence of the king a kind of *mêlée*, in which several knights were either killed or wounded. Don Pedro during the engagement, betrayed some partiality for Alvarez, whereupon Tenorio, who till then had served the king with devotion, considered himself aggrieved, and at once quitting Toro with all his followers, passed into the rebel camp. Such was the haughty susceptibility of the feudal nobles, ever ready to break with their sovereigns upon the most frivolous pretences.*

* Ayala, p. 153. It appears that Fernando Alvarez de Toledo had expressed a desire to entertain Pero Carrillo, one of the three ambassadors sent by the confederate lords to the king, and his own personal friend. Alfonso Jufre Tenorio, who bore Alvarez de Toled some grudge, determined, on the contrary, that Pero Carrillo should abide with him. Words arose between Tenorio and Alvarez, and the former, carried away by passion, struck the latter with his knife. On this the bystanders interfered, Gutier Fernandez, as might be expected, taking part with his brother; Juan de Benavides, the king's Justiciar-Mayor, with Tenorio. A general conflict ensued, in which, on the one side, Juan de Benavides and Men Rodriguez Tenorio, a brother of Alfonso Jufre, were wounded, and on the other, a nephew of Gutier Fernandez de

The envoys of the League, the involuntary cause of this unfortunate scene, had come to renew the proposi-

Toledo was killed. "And because," says Ayala, "the king appeared to favour Gutier Fernandez de Toledo, and because they had fear of the king henceforth, Juan Tenorio, the king's Repostero-Mayor, Men Rodriguez Tenorio, and Alfonso Jufre Tenorio departed from the king's court and joined the confederate lords. And upon their departure the king gave the Reposteria, which had been held by Juan Tenorio, to Gutier Fernandez and the Alguacilazco, which had been Alfonso Jufre's, gave he to Suer Tellez de Meneses, a relative of the said Gutier Fernandez de Toledo."—*Cronica del Rey Don Pedro*, p. 153.

On such slight grounds was Don Pedro deserted in his greatest extremity by Juan Tenorio, who had been rather his associate than his minister—and whom we picture to ourselves as constant a companion of the king in his nocturnal rambles through Seville, as Vizier Giafar was of Haroun al Raschid in Bagdad, or Buckingham of our Charles in Madrid. The supposition of Ayala, that Don Juan quitted the king for fear of him, is simply absurd, for Juan, according to that writer's own testimony, bore no part in the fray, whilst Benavides, the king's Justiciar-Mayor, who was most active in the elder Tenorio's behalf, remained with Don Pedro, and moulted no feather in consequence. Wounded pride, for we do not believe Juan guilty of the baseness of seizing an opportunity to leave a falling cause, alone prompted his defection. Nothing certain is known of him after this his desertion of the king. Had he fallen a victim to the fears or jealousies of Don Pedro, like many of his brother cavalleros, some contemporary author would have been sure to have chronicled the circumstance. The fate of his three brothers, Alfonso Jufre, Men Rodriguez, and Garci Jufre, all of whom fell victims to Don Pedro's vengeance, is duly recorded by Ayala; and Zuñiga, the historian of Seville, mentions the confiscation of the family mansion of the Tenorios in that city, in consequence of Juan's sister, Teresa, having spoken ill of the king. Garci Jufre Tenorio is also mentioned

tions already so often made to the king. This time Don Pedro listened to them less impatiently, requested time to prepare his reply, and invited the principal chiefs to a personal conference. A place was fixed upon for the interview, and in order to prevent treachery, it was agreed that they should meet in an open plain, twenty cavalleros armed cap-à-pie upon either side, but that no one should carry a lance,* save the king, and

by Ayala as having commanded a galley for Don Pedro on the occasion of that monarch's first expedition against Aragon. It is, however, unlikely that Don Juan ever re-entered the king's service. He had had greater opportunities than his brethren of studying the character of his sovereign, and was well aware that Don Pedro never forgot or forgave an injury. Probably, like many Spanish cavalleros of this period, he joined one of the Free Companies who then overran France, or after having solemnly denaturalized himself, he became a liegeman of the King of Aragon. The civil dissensions in Portugal, and the severe character of the Infante, who, on mounting the throne two years later, made a law similar to that passed by Shakspeare's Duke in "Measure for Measure," would induce the Castilian hidalgo to shun Portugal as he would a pest-house. However, whether Don Juan Tenorio perished in a skirmish, in a midnight brawl, or in the manner poets and romancists relate, his end is involved in as much mystery as the remainder of his career.—*T.*

* Ayala, p. 156. I cannot perfectly comprehend the object of this restriction if it apply to the long and heavy lance, the ordinary weapons of knights in the north of Europe; but I imagine we must here understand by *lanza*, the javelin or dart, also much used by Spanish cavaliers. The same reason which now would proscribe fire-arms on a similar occasion, would then prompt the arrangement I have just related. There is an important variation in the two principal manuscripts of Ayala as to the number of knights present at the interview. The Chronicle in general use names

the Infante of Aragon, who by birth, was entitled to be placed at the head of the Confederates.

Upon the appointed day, the two troops met near Tejadillo, a village situated at an equal distance from Toro, a place in the king's interests, and Morales, a town occupied by the army of the League. All the chiefs of the Confederates were present, wearing emblazoned vests over their armour. At their head appeared the two Infantes of Aragon, the Conde Don Enrique, Don Fadrique, Don Fernando de Castro, and Don Juan de la Cerda. I must not forget Fernando Perez de Ayala, father of the chronicler, and the chronicler himself, who then very young, served as page to the Infante, and carried his lance. They all first saluted the king, kissing his hand according to custom. It is probable that Don Pedro, in proposing this interview, wished to try the effect which his presence would pro-

fifty; the Abridgment, which I follow as more ancient, only twenty. We can easily imagine that the vanity of some noble houses would take pleasure in augmenting the number of the representatives of the two parties.

Without entering into the question which of the two manuscripts possesses greater claims to our confidence we here notice three slight errors in the *Abreviada* copy of Ayala. The names Alfonso Jufre, Juan, and Men Rodriguez Tenorio, who only a few days previously had deserted the royal camp, are therein mentioned as present at the conference of Tejadillo. The *Vulgar* very properly omits all mention of them, and though in its list Gutier Fernandez is first spoken of as Alcalde-Mayor of Toledo, a few lines farther on, allusion is made to that cavallero as holding the Reposteria lately in the hands of Juan Tenorio. "E alli fablo de la parte del Rey, Gutier Fernandez de Toledo, Repostero-Mayor del Rey."—*Cronica de Don Pedro*, p. 157.—*T.*

duce upon men accustomed to respect his person, but whether his pride revolted from any show of equality with subjects in arms against him, or whether he imagined himself less bound by promises proceeding from another mouth than his own, he charged Gutier Fernandez de Toledo to speak in his name. This cavallero had some reason to complain of the king, for Don Pedro had deprived Gutier of the office of chamberlain; nevertheless he remained faithful, and in selecting him for his spokesman, Don Pedro perhaps wished to place an example before the rebels. Gutier Fernandez began by deploring the blindness of so many good knights who forgetful of the benefits they had received from their prince, were disturbing the whole kingdom with their disobedience. He next declared that, under the appearance of a lively interest in Queen Blanche, the king could easily discern their jealousy of the relatives of Maria de Padilla, and whether they avowed it or not, that was, he saw clearly the true cause of their taking up arms. But they must learn that kings are free to choose their own advisers, and that to them alone belongs the right of recompensing their vassals' services. That, moreover, the sovereign had favours to bestow upon all faithful subjects, and in his nominations to the great offices of the crown, he could soon convince them of his munificence and impartiality. As regarded Queen Blanche, the king promised to treat her with due respect as his wife, and as the Queen of Castile.

Such were the only promises, or rather hopes, that Don Pedro consented to hold out; and even these he, perhaps, intended on some future occasion to interpret after a fashion of his own. He imagined that they

would satisfy the greater part of the Confederates; those at least who had not quite lost all respect for the royal authority. In concluding, Gutier Fernandez turned towards the king, and said to him, "Sire, is this all that you command me to say?" The king replied in the affirmative. Then the chiefs of the Confederates withdrew for a moment to deliberate amongst themselves. They had expected that the king would personally explain his intentions, and being doubtless both surprised and piqued that he had employed one of his knights to communicate them, they in like manner determined that one of their cavalleros should be charged with their reply. The choice fell upon Fernando Perez de Ayala. His speech has been preserved to us by his son, and proves that the Confederates had not overrated the talents of their orator. Ayala, skilfully avoiding every subject that might wound the king's pride, strives to justify the leaguers in their assumption of arms. He purposely makes no allusion to the removal of the favourite and her relatives, and with even greater care, passes over the pretensions of those who aspired to replace the Padillas in the direction of affairs. But he insists with much force upon the affront put upon so many Ricos Hombres who had been convoked at Valladolid to celebrate the royal nuptials, and who, in respect of their proximity to the French frontier, were in some manner guarantees for Blanche. He reminds the king of the deposition and unjust death of Nuñez de Prado, Master of Calatrava, and the unprovoked aggression upon Alburquerque, who, in his love of peace, had consented to deliver up his only son as a hostage, while he himself went into voluntary exile. "This

unworthy treatment of two faithful subjects," continued Ayala, "after they had rendered important services to their prince and country, has naturally alarmed the whole nobility. They now dread their sovereign, or rather the counsellors whom he has chosen. Let the king deign to reassure them, and he will again find in his Ricos Hombres the loyalty and affection they must ever bear to him as their natural lord."

Fernando de Ayala concluded by proposing to refer the definitive arrangement of their differences to the arbitration of eight knights, to be named by the two adverse parties. Then, following the example of Gutier Fernandez, he asked the nobles who surrounded him, whether he had faithfully expressed their opinions. All replied that they approved his words, and were ready to confirm them. Don Pedro having promised to name his four arbiters, the Infante Don Fernando and his companions took leave of him with the same marks of respect they had manifested upon his arrival.*

Thus terminated the solemn interview at Tejadillo, which as we see effected no change in the relative position of the king and the insurgents. Probably Don Pedro had imagined that the rebels, like those at Cigales, would fall at his feet, and submit themselves to his pleasure. Disappointed in that expectation, he carried away from the conference nothing but bitter recollections, and a mortal hatred against all the men whom he had seen in arms before him, proffering austere counsels, and addressing him with unwelcome remonstrances. The names of those twenty cavalleros, his

* Ayala, p. 157-164.

subjects, who, marshalled face to face before their sovereign, offered only a conditional obedience, never escaped his memory; and probably from that day he swore to exact a terrible revenge. On his return to Toro, instead of nominating arbiters as he had promised, his only thought was how to continue the secret negociations opened with some of the leaguers. Moreover, winter was approaching, and the king hoped that it would serve to disperse the insurgent army. The country was laid waste, and both parties were as little disposed as formerly to terminate this bloodless though destructive warfare, than which no foreign invasion could possibly have been more ruinous to Castile.

VII.

The inclemency of the season and scarcity of provisions obliged the confederates to quit their position at Morales, and proceed towards Zamora. Their army defiled slowly, and in good order, along the ramparts of Toro, displaying a multiplicity of banners, in full sight of the king, who was stationed outside the barriers with a small retinue of horsemen. The battalion of Alburquerque's vassals attracted the notice of all present. Faithful to their oath, they carried in the midst of their colours the body of their lord, which was placed in a coffin covered with cloth of gold. As they passed before the walls of Zamora, the majority of the chiefs dismounted, and bore this coffin on their shoulders, as if to defy the king, by thus honouring the mortal remains of his enemy. It was said that the dead, as well as the living, were warring against the king. As soon as

the army was out of sight, Don Pedro, believing that he had now some time at his own disposal, galloped with a hundred horsemen to the Castle of Urueña, where he had placed his mistress, for, in the present state of affairs, he avoided appearing in a large town in public with her. He left his treasure and his little army at Toro, under the command of his mother, who had remained with him ever since his return from Portugal. The unfortunate prince seemed destined to have his confidence abused. Queen Maria had for some time been holding secret correspondence with the chiefs of the League. Hardly was she apprised of her son's departure for Urueña, than she gave information of his absence to the Infantes of Aragon, invited them to return with all speed, and promised to surrender the city to them. This was, in point of fact, concluding the war, since Toro contained the king's last resources. The leaguers did not lose an instant; a night march brought them before the town, the gates of which were immediately opened. Don Pedro had now neither money nor provisions; his army was reduced to a hundred soldiers; his only place of refuge was a castle which could not maintain a siege of many days. The Confederates, full of confidence on seeing the queen-mother declare for them against her own son, no longer exhibited the outward marks of respect which they had hitherto observed in their negociations with the king. They sent to Urueña, not proposals of accommodation, but an intimation that he ought to return at once to Toro, there to regulate the affairs of his kingdom*.

* Ayala, p. 166. Compare the "Cronica" with "Sumario de

Don Pedro, overwhelmed by this last act of treason, and seeing himself, so to speak, betrayed to the rebels by his own mother, held a council with the few followers who had not deserted him; these were, Don Diego de Padilla, Master of Calatrava, and brother of the favourite; Juan de Hinestrosa, her uncle; and Gutier Fernández de Toledo. To prolong the contest appeared impossible. Nearly the whole kingdom was in a state of revolt; and although a few towns had as yet deferred sending in their adherence to the League, it was doubtful whether they would receive the king, if he presented himself as a fugitive before their gates. Still Padilla and Gutier Fernandez advised him to venture everything rather than place himself at the mercy of the leaguers, who, in the intoxication of their triumph, might give way to the worst excesses. Both refused to follow him to Toro; the one, because he would there have to answer for the murder of Nuñez de Prado, his predecessor; the other, because he feared that Don Enrique might avenge, in his own person, the death of his mother, who was assassinated in the Castle of Talavera, when he was governor of that place. Hinestrosa spoke last. "The king's counsellors," he said, "think only of themselves, at the time when the common safety depends upon that of their master. In the present aspect of affairs, everything has become possible to the rebels. The kingdom is in their hands. They may give it to the Infante of Aragon; and this is what we must, at all events, prevent. Let the king retain his crown upon whatever conditions may be dictated to him, and take

los Reyes de España," p. 63, note; and Gracia Dei in the "Seminario Erudito," t. XXVIII, p. 287.

no thought for us. His presence at Toro will perhaps overawe the rebels, divided as they are by separate views and interests. Let him endeavour to gain over a few who may render him their support against the rest. As for myself, who thus advise the king to repair to Toro, I will accompany him thither; and whatever danger may menace the uncle of Doña Maria de Padilla, it shall never be said that he ever hesitated to follow his lord.*"

Don Pedro praised his generosity, and followed his advice. After providing as well as he could for the safety of Maria de Padilla, he set out for Toro, accompanied by Hinestrosa, Simuel Levi, his treasurer, and Fernando Sanchez, his private chancellor. Amongst all the lords who formed the little court, assembled at Urueña, these alone consented to follow him. A hundred inferior officers or servants composed his escort, all unarmed, and mounted upon mules.

The chiefs of the Confederacy, on being informed of the departure of this melancholy cortège, came out to meet it, well mounted and attired in magnificent vestures, under which they allowed their armour to appear,† as though to contrast their warlike pomp with the humble retinue of the vanquished king. After having kissed his hand, they conducted him into the city with loud acclamations of joy, caracoling about him, performing *fantasias*, pursuing one another, and hurling *cañas* in the Moorish fashion.‡ It is said, that when Don Enrique ap-

* Ayala, p. 168.

† Ibid., p. 168.

‡ Sumario, &c., p. 64.

proached his brother to salute him, the unhappy monarch could not restrain his tears. "May God be merciful to you," he cried; "for my part, I pardon you.*" The queen-mother and Doña Leonor awaited him in the monastery of San Domingo. They led him thither immediately, without parading him through the city, fearing doubtless that the people might be touched at beholding their king a prisoner. The two queens received him as if he were a wayward child returning to the paternal roof, resigned to the punishment there awaiting his disobedience. "Good nephew," said the Queen of Aragon, "it becomes you well thus to show yourself in the midst of all the grandees of your kingdom, instead of wandering from castle to castle to escape from your lawful wife. But it is not your fault, youth as you are; it is all through those wicked men who have corrupted you, especially one Juan de Hinestrosa, whom I see here, with Don Simuel el Levi, and others like them. We will now have them removed, and will place about you men of character, who will care for your honour, as well as your interests.†" The king immediately cried out

* Sumario, &c., p. 64.

† Ayala, p. 169. Sobrino, Señor, mejor vos paresce estar acompañado asi como agora sodés de todos los Grandes e buenos de vuestros Regnos, que andar de la guisa que fasta aqui avedes andado dexando vuestra muger legitima la Reyna Doña Blanca é andar, apartado por los Castillos. E vos non avedes culpa, ca aun non sodes de tan grand edad (the king was then only twenty years of age) pero esto facen los privados que tenedes que vos asi aconsejan de los quales es uno Juan Fernandez de Hinestrosa que aqui viene con vusco, é Don Simuel el Levi, é otros: é será

that Juan de Hinestrosa had ever served him faithfully, and that he trusted that they would treat with respect a man who came under his safeguard.

These protestations were useless. Those who had remained true to Don Pedro in his adversity were arrested under his very eyes. Hinestrosa was placed in the hand of the Infante Don Fernando, and the Jew was committed to the safe keeping of Don Tello. At the same time it was signified to Don Pedro that all the offices appertaining to the crown had been filled. Don Fernando de Aragon was Grand Chancellor, and Sanchez was constrained to deliver to him forthwith the seals of the kingdom, the Infante Don Juan again became Grand Standard bearer, and the royal banners were immediately placed in his hands. The dignity of grand comptroller of the household was restored to Don Fernando de Castro, who for some time past had, it seems, forgotten the wrongs of his sister—Doña Juana; lastly Don Fadrique had the office of chamberlain, or rather that of jailer to the king. Until then, these functions had never been entrusted to a personage of his rank, and in confiding them to the Master of Santiago, the leaguers showed that they thought it necessary to place their captive under strict surveillance. After the king had been thus constrained to assist in the partition of his own spoils, he was separated from the ordinary officers of his household, and conducted to a palace belonging to the Bishop of Zamora, where Don Fadrique committed him to the safe keeping of Don Lope de Bendaña, that same

bien que estos sean anedrados de vos, e que vos rijades de aqui adelante por otros que sean mas honrados e que caten mejor por vuestro servicio é por vuestra honra.

commander of Santiago who, a few months previously, had refused to receive the king into the castle of Segura. An esquire, belonging to the Master, slept every night in Don Pedro's chamber; his guards had strict orders not to lose sight of him for a single instant, and indeed no one was even admitted into his presence without permission from Don Fadrique. From that day, all the public employments were divided amongst the principal leaguers. Every one expected a place as a recompense, and arrogantly demanded it as his share of the spoil. Don Fernando de Castro had claimed his beforehand: it was the hand of Doña Juana, the natural daughter of King Don Alfonso and Leonor de Guzman. It was in vain that Don Pedro protested against this union. The pride of the king's brothers was perhaps as much outraged as his own by the alliance; but Don Fernando de Castro exercised so great an influence among the Confederates, that it would have been dangerous to have broken faith with him. The Conde de Trastamara, as head of the family, gave his sister away, and the marriage was at once solemnized with great pomp in the Cathedral of Toro. Almost immediately afterwards, and with equal magnificence, were celebrated the obsequies of Alburquerque, whose manes were now avenged and might enjoy repose after victory. The queen-dowager of Aragon, Don Tello and a crowd of nobles attended the funeral procession to the monastery of Espina, which had been chosen by Alburquerque himself as the place of his sepulture.*

* Ayala, p. 172. Amongst the crowd of nobles who honoured that great statesman by their presence at his interment, was Don Juan de la Cerda, the son-in-law of Alonso Coronel, the man whom Alburquerque had pursued unto the death.—*T.*

CHAPTER IX.

ESCAPE OF DON PEDRO—HE REGAINS HIS AUTHORITY.
1354 TO 1356.

I.

THE concord which had subsisted among the leaguers whilst there was a common enemy to subdue was of short duration, when nothing remained to be done, but to divide the fruits of the victory. Notwithstanding the care which was taken to separate the king from the men who had proved themselves sincerely attached to him, Don Pedro still found means to correspond secretly with several of his friends. Among the confederates themselves, there was more than one who, touched with compassion, or imagining himself ill-requited for his rebellion, began to consider how he might best provide against a change of fortune, and make a merit of his repentance. Some chiefs, vexed at seeing their authority expire with the civil war, discovered, a little too late, that it was easier and safer to obtain a secondary place under a king, than the first among equals. On the other hand, the Commons, who had been carried away for the moment by the general revolt, now found that they had gained nothing by overthrowing the detested favourites. Power had only passed into hands still more rapacious. The Commons, by declaring against the king, had aug-

mented the strength of the men they rightly regarded as the most dangerous enemies of their ancient liberties. They were now completely unprotected, and exposed to the insatiable ambition of the feudal nobility. As for Queen Blanche, whose name a few days before had served as a war-cry, shewas already forgotten by those gallant knights who had pretended to take up arms solely for her sake. The people would have liked to have seen her come forward and intercede for her husband, to have beheld her take some steps to win his love and confidence. But Blanche remained at Toledo. She was a mere child, who could only repeat what was taught her, and no one now cared to induce her to play a part. Amidst this ambitious and selfish crowd, the king stood alone with a calm and haughty demeanour. Misfortune had given him dignity. The people began openly to express pity for him, to regret his stern, but equable administration of justice, to excuse his past errors. Thus, hardly had the royal cause seemed irretrievably lost than it regained its ascendancy in popular opinion. All parties turned towards Don Pedro, and although a captive, he exercised more power than he had ever possessed before, even when commanding a faithful army.

The League was rent into two factions; the one headed by the Infantes of Aragon and their mother, the other by the three bastards and their brother-in-law, Don Fernando de Castro. The queen-mother was totally incapable of governing, and, moreover, no one respected her. Between Don Pedro and his brothers, the spectre of Doña Leonor de Guzman raised, as it were, a barrier against all reconciliation. On the side of the Aragonese princes, there did not exist the same motives

for hatred to estrange them from the king. They regarded with a jealous eye the growing influence of his brothers; Don Juan, especially, who was married to the second daughter of Don Juan Nuñez, coveted the rich inheritance of the Laras, which was possessed by Don Tello, his brother-in-law. In short, the Infantes who had been considered as the chiefs of the League, so long as a great name was needful to oppose to that of the king, were, now that peace had ensued, only viewed as foreigners trying to enrich themselves at the expense of Castile. These considerations prompted the king to turn to them as instruments capable of effecting his deliverance. At his first overtures, he found the Aragonese princes disposed to separate from their allies, and very soon it merely remained for him to ascertain the price they set upon their defection.

From time to time the king was permitted to leave the town in order to enjoy the amusement of hawking, and notwithstanding the vigilance of his guards, the confusion inseparable from such sports enabled him to receive divers communications from his partisans, and offers from the dissatisfied nobles of the League. His treasurer Levi, who had been liberated by Don Tello upon payment of an exorbitant ransom, had obtained for an additional sum permission to see his master, and even to accompany him on his hawking expeditions. The jewellery which Simuel Levi had found means to save, and the hidden treasures he was imagined to possess, rendered him an important personage in the secret negociations which were carried on in the court of Toro. The Jew wanted neither courage nor address; he was sincerely attached.

to Don Pedro, and became the most active and skilful of his agents. Towards the latter end of the year 1354, through his exertions, a treaty was concluded between the Infantes of Aragon, Queen Leonor, and the imprisoned king. At the price of many a castle, many a rich domain, they engaged to take up arms against the royal brothers. First of all, the king must be set at liberty. Don Pedro, taking advantage of a thick fog, left Toro very early, his falcon upon his wrist, as if bound upon a hawking expedition, accompanied by Levi and his ordinary retinue, namely, some 200 horsemen. Whether his guards had been bought over, or that he had found some way of eluding them, the king was soon alone with the Jew. They took the road to Segovia, and riding at full speed, were in a few hours beyond reach of pursuit.* It is said that on this day, Don Tello had the command of the royal prisoner's escort, and that seduced by his brother's magnificent promises, he connived at Don Pedro's escape. Although this version of the story proceeds from a justly suspected source, it is probably based upon some contemporary tradition, and later, the conduct of Don Pedro, with respect to Don Tello, whom he always distinguished from his other brothers, gives reason to believe that he had really received an important service at his hands.† Furthermore, the number

* Ayala, p. 174.

† Sumario, &c., p. 65. According to an anonymous writer, the author of "A Sketch of the Reign of Don Pedro," the king would have given to Don Tello, the Seignory of Biscay, Aguilar de Campos, and the Asturias of Santillana. But Don Tello already possessed Biscay in right of his wife, Doña Juana de Lara. To

of nobles won by the Jew's gold, and Don Pedro's promises, was already considerable, and the bastards, partially informed of their intrigues, no longer knew whom to trust; hardly indeed dared they venture to communicate their uneasiness to each other.

On arriving in the Alcazar of Segovia, where doubtless his faithful servants awaited him, the king wrote to the queen-mother to ask her to restore to him the seals of his kingdom, which he had been forced to place in her hands: he added threateningly that, if they were refused him, he had money and iron wherewith to fabricate others.* Queen Maria did not dare to disobey. Moreover the alarm at Toro was great. Every one attributed the king's escape to treachery. The treaty concluded with the Infantes of Aragon was still a secret; but mutual distrust filled the minds of the leaguers, each suspecting the rest of the most insidious designs. In fine, unacquainted with the king's plans, and ignorant of the extent of his resources, they exaggerated the importance and magnitude of both.

II.

The conditions of the treaty concluded between Don Pedro and his jailors were soon known to all Spain. At the commencement of the year 1355, Queen Doña Leonor suddenly quitted Toro with her two sons, in order to repair to Roa, of which town she took posses-

render the anecdote still more romantic, the anonymous writer adds, that the king wrote the gift upon a scrap of paper in a hermitage during the chase.

* Ayala, p. 175.

sion by virtue of a royal order. The Infantes of Aragon received at the same time homage from several cities or castles detached from the royal domains; this was the king's ransom, and it was punctually paid. In return they yielded to Don Pedro, Orihuela and Alicante in the kingdom of Valencia, a cession apparently purely nominal, for the King of Aragon had for some time past questioned his brothers' right of suzerainty over these towns, if even he permitted them to exercise it.* Probably the Infantes hoped by this pretended exchange to conceal their shameful treaty with the King of Castile; perhaps by singular foresight, Don Pedro, though still a wanderer and a fugitive in his own dominions, even now dreamed of aggrandizing them at the expense of his neighbours. We shall see that afterwards he found means to claim this grant, which at that time appeared preposterous. Simultaneously with the Aragonese princes a great number of Castilian lords received fiefs, castles, and wide domains. The largest shares were given to those of whom the king had most reason to complain. Juan de La Cerda, and Alvar de Castro brother of Don Fernando, obtained large grants of lands.† All these Ricos Hombres, now deserters from the League, as they had been formerly from the royal cause, hurried to Segovia, with the Infantes at their head, protesting their fidelity, and swearing to obey so

* Zurita, t. II. p, 269, Ayala, p. 178. It appears that the articles of the treaty of Atienza, relating to the Infantes of Aragon, were never faithfully observed by Pedro IV.

† The former demanded, as the price of this fresh act of political dishonesty, the town of Gibraleon, in Andalucia; the latter, Salvatierra, in Galicia. Ayala, p. 147.—*T.*

generous a prince in every thing. But it was not upon this dearly-purchased devotion that Don Pedro founded his hopes, his more efficient and more liberal succour was derived from the Commons, who had openly rallied around their sovereign. A few days after his escape, he convoked the deputies of the nobility and the people at Burgos. Accompanied by the Infantes, and those of the leaguers who had returned to their allegiance he presented himself before this assembly, and after having complained of the unworthy treatment which he had experienced from the rebels of Toro, he required them to aid him with men and money, in order to reduce to obedience the queen, his mother, and his three brothers who were disturbing the peace of the kingdom by their rebellion, and who had even dared to restrain the liberty of their sovereign.*

A great change had taken place in the public mind. The misfortunes of the king, his youth, and his firmness prepossessed the assembly in his favour. The greater number of Castilians had seen with indignation the conduct of the confederates, and their short-lived government had sufficed to make that of the Padillas regretted. Thus the deputies assembled at Burgos appeared eager to accede to all the king's demands, while in return, the Commons probably obtained from him an extension of their privileges and new franchises. Could he show less generosity towards the towns of his kingdom, than he had exhibited to his great vassals, of whom he had so much more reason to complain? We search in vain for a few details of the political transactions which took place at Burgos, and hardly know

* Ayala, p. 177.

whether this assemblage ought to be regarded as a solemn meeting of the Cortes. The deputies of the clergy were not present. At the moment when, by a strange revulsion in public opinion, the people were loudly declaring in favour of the king, whom lately they had so shamefully abandoned to his fate, a legate from the Pope arrived in Spain, bearing an Apostolic brief which placed Castile under an interdict, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against Don Pedro, Maria de Padilla, and Juana de Castro, as well as against the abettors of their illicit connection.* The bishops of Salamanca and Avila were cited before the Holy See, to answer for their conduct in sanctioning a sacrilegious marriage. The decree of excommunication was fulminated at Toledo, on the 19th of January, 1355, but it does not appear to have made any alteration in the disposition of the people towards the king. On the contrary, now that he was reconciled with his subjects, it excited general indignation; for at all times the Spaniards have shown great aversion to the interference of foreigners in their affairs. The Holy See, since its removal to Avignon, had lost much of its influence over Europe; furthermore, its thunders had never yet been much feared in the Peninsula. The Pope's censure had probably the effect of preventing the prelates of the kingdom from taking part in the deliberations of Burgos, but it did not cost the king a single partisan, nor diminish in the slightest degree the new zeal which his cause every where excited. Don Pedro replied to the excommunication, by seizing the estates of Cardinal Gil de

* Rainaldi, Ann. Eccl., year 1355, § 29, t. xxv.

Albornoz, and those of a few other prelates; and returning threat for threat, he announced his intention of confiscating the domains of those bishops who wavered between the Pope and himself.*

The revolt of the leaguers, the succession of treacheries which had ensued, the brief captivity of the king, and the means to which he had been forced to resort in order to obtain his liberty, could not fail to exercise a decisive influence over his character. Misfortunes ripen men more quickly than time. His sojourn at Toro was worth years of experience to Don Pedro. Betrayed by all his relatives, even by his own mother, he became suspicious and distrustful for the remainder of his life. He left his prison, filled with hatred and contempt for a nobility, which having conquered him, had afterwards so meanly sold to him the fruits of their victory; he had also learned the power of his adversaries, and henceforth he scrupled not to fight them with their own weapons. He now opposed treachery to treachery, artifice to artifice. He had hitherto given way to violence and impetuosity; he now learned to command his countenance, and feign forgetfulness of injuries, until the moment should arrive for obtaining revenge. Formerly he piqued himself upon being as loyal as just; now he imagined that he was justified in pursuing any course towards his offending nobles. When men are thoroughly convinced of the goodness of their cause, they are often indifferent as to their choice of means for ensuring its success. The king soon mistook hatred for justice. The rude manners of the

* Rainalda, Ann. Eccl., t. xxvi, p. 22. Compare with note 5 of Llaguno, in Ayala, page 209.

middle ages, and the education which he had received in the midst of a civil war, had hardened his heart, and accustomed him to spectacles of suffering. Provided that he was obeyed and feared, he cared little to gain the love of men whom he despised. To destroy the power of the great vassals, to raise his own authority upon the ruins of feudal tyranny, such was the end which he henceforth proposed to himself, and which he pursued with unwearied perseverance.

III.

Nations, like individuals, resign themselves to a crisis in their affairs which human prudence can foresee, but not avert; and history so frequently reproduces similar events, similar revolutions, that we are tempted to believe them the result of certain inevitable laws. A few years only had elapsed since the fever of revolt had spread with alarming virulence over the kingdom of Aragon. The Ricos Hombres had coalesced with the Commons against their young sovereign. Pedro IV., had, like Don Pedro of Castile, been the prisoner of his subjects, and like him had been obliged to purchase his liberty from the avarice of his nobles. On his escape from confinement he speedily regained his power, the ephemeral triumph of the rebels was followed almost directly by their abasement, and the royal authority gathered additional strength in the arduous struggle. Castile now presented a similar spectacle. The same causes had produced the same effects, and the two dramas, whose scenes so much resembled each other, were to have the same termination.

Three months had scarcely elapsed since Don Pedro had quitted Toro as a fugitive, accompanied only by a single attendant, and he was already at the head of a numerous and devoted army. After having dismissed the deputies assembled at Burgos, he took the command of his troops, and marched straight towards the rebels, now reduced to the faction of the three brothers. He commenced at Medina del Campo that long series of acts of retribution which he had doubtless meditated in the silence of his prison. In the Holy Week, during those days which Christians devote to contrition and penance, two Ricos Hombres, who had formed part of the little troop of leaguers present at the conference of Tejadillo, Pedro Ruiz de Villegas and Sancho de Rojas, were arrested in the palace at mid-day, and immediately executed without even the form of a trial. Others, who had sided with the rebels, but without taking any prominent part in the contest, were thrown into prison,* and despoiled of their wealth. After hurling this open declaration of war against his factious nobility, the king marched against the town of Toro, and attacked its outworks. He might there have seen that the cruel punishment which he had

* Ayala, 177. Suer Perez de Quinones, the king's Cuchillo Mayor, who, the reader will recollect, accompanied Juan Tenorio in his mission to Alburquerque, at Carvajales, was amongst those imprisoned at this time. He had not deserted Don Pedro until the last moment, and is mentioned by Ayala as one of the cavalleros present at Tejadillo on the royal side. But Don Pedro never pardoned the defection, though but momentarily, of any subject in whom he once reposed confidence.—*T.*

just inflicted would not suffice to eradicate inveterate habits of disobedience. One of the cavalleros of his palace, Fernando Ruiz Giron, having been slain in the first skirmish, Alfonso Tellez, brother of the deceased, claimed as his due, the office Fernando Ruiz had held. But the king had already disposed of it. Enraged at his refusal, Tellez Giron deserted immediately, and he and his men joined the besieged.*

The report of the king's progress having reached Juan de Hinestrosa, who was still a prisoner at Toro, he offered his services to Queen Maria and the Conde de Trastamara, to effect some arrangement with his master. He obtained permission to quit the town, upon condition of leaving behind some hidalgos, relations of his as hostages. But once free, and in the midst of the royal army, he forgot his promise, and only thought how he might minister to his master's resentment, without caring for the unfortunate beings he had left at the mercy of the leaguers. The queen-mother, however, generously sent them back to her son, without putting in force the rigorous measures then permitted by the laws of war.

Toro was too well fortified to yield to a first attack. After some days spent in ineffectual skirmishing, the king, having been informed by his spies, that some of the burghers of Toledo were ready to declare in his favour, unexpectedly raised the siege in order to hasten thither with the main body of his forces. He hoped to conceal the object of his march from the rebels, and

* Ayala, p. 73.

to arrive at the gates of Toledo, whilst they believed him still in the kingdom of Leon; Don Enrique, however, guessing the motive of this precipitate retreat, immediately took the field with a hundred men-at-arms. Too weak to make any attempt against the king's army, he at first proposed joining Don Fadrique, who occupied Talavera. To reach this place, he had to cross the lofty defiles of the Guadarrama, always a difficult journey, but especially so in the commencement of May, the time when the snow begins to melt. The mountaineers planned an ambuscade, and unexpectedly attacked him in a dangerous defile. Several of his knights were slain or taken prisoners, and the Conde could only succeed in effecting his passage, sword in hand, after a hard fight. The next day he took his revenge. Reinforced by the knights of Santiago, he surprised and sacked the village of Colmenar, whose inhabitants had materially injured his troops in the engagement of the previous evening. All these unfortunate creatures were relentlessly put to the sword, and the two brothers, on withdrawing their forces, left nothing but a heap of ashes behind them. Thus did the Ricos Hombres wreak their vengeance upon poor peasants defending their cottage homes.*

* Ayala, p. 179. Diego Gutierrez de Zavallos, Inigo Ortiz de las Cuebas, and Pero Gomez de Porres the elder, and Juan Diaz de Caduerniga were the relatives or friends that Hinestrosa left in Toro, as security for his good faith. Juan Diaz de Caduerniga preferred remaining in Toro to joining the king. Ayala, p. 178. Diego de Zavallos was the cavallero who, on the day of the marriage of Don Pedro with Juana de Castro, apprised him of

The king on the one side, Don Enrique and Don Fadrique upon the other, were marching towards Toledo. The citizens were divided between the two parties. Some declared for Don Pedro, others for the bastards, but the majority of the inhabitants wished to remain neutral, closing their gates against both alike. Queen Blanche, in the retirement of the Alcazar, beheld with terror the approach of her husband, and probably threw her influence into the scale of the league faction. The king and the Conde de Trastamara, who had left Toro about the same time, were in the early part of May encamped at a short distance from Toledo; the first at Torrijos, the other at Talavera. Each, on perceiving his adversary, hoped to surprise the city by means of the secret intelligence he maintained with the inhabitants.

Toledo is surrounded on three sides by the Tagus, which closely embanked at the bottom of a very deep ravine, runs in the form of a horse-shoe round the ramparts. Two bridges are thrown over the river, as the means of access to and from the town; on the western side is the bridge of San Martin, on the eastern, that of Alcantara, both built of stone, and surmounted by three high towers, which must be successively passed, before arriving at the principal gates of the walled enclosure. The Conde and the Master of Santiago, sheltered by the Tagus, and favoured by darkness, which concealed their march from the king, halted at day-break before San Martin's bridge. They had come, they said, to

the compact Alburquerque had entered into with the Conde de Trastamara. Ayala, p. 129.—*T.*

defend the city against the king, and requested a conference with the burghers who guarded the towers. After some hesitation, the town council, true to its policy, sent refreshments to the two bastards and their men, but politely refused to admit them within their walls. In vain Don Enrique and his brother protested that their intention was to protect Queen Blanche against the fury of her husband; the council persisted in prohibiting their entrance within the ramparts. "The queen has nothing to fear whilst under our protection," said the magistrates of Toledo, "our walls are high, and we know how to defend them ourselves. Besides," added they, "we have sent deputies to the king, and we will not treat with him, without stipulating for honourable conditions for you." These parleys at the entrance to the bridge, lasted some considerable time, and meanwhile several Toledan knights in the service of the Conde, conferred with those burgesses who were in their interest, and plotted to surprise the city on the other side.

Towards night, Don Enrique pretended to retire, but making a long circuit in perfect silence round the ramparts, he stopped at Huerta del Rey, before the bridge of Alcantara, which his friends had contrived to have confided to their care. The next morning, May the 7th, at mid-day, whilst the heat confined nearly all the inhabitants within doors, the Conde's men-at-arms appeared at the entrance of the bridge, the towers of which were immediately surrendered to them and the city gate being left open, or negligently guarded, was simultaneously surprised. With the exception of the burgesses concerned in the plot, no one was

aware of this bold stroke, until the soldiers of the two brothers rushed through the streets, unfurling their banners, and shouting their war cry. A frightful tumult immediately arose. Some citizens joined the assailants, others burst into the Alcazar, or barricaded themselves in the Grand Jewry, which was as usual separated from the rest of the city by a high wall. The king's partizans hastily despatch couriers to Torrijos to press him to come to the assistance of his capital, now threatened with the greatest misfortunes. Toledo presented a strange spectacle. Each of its quarters was in the possession of a separate faction. Queen Blanche, trembling in the Alcazar, dared not issue commands, and could not rely upon the obedience of the inhabitants who had sought refuge by her side, and were naturally indignant at the assault made upon their city. The two bastards vainly endeavoured to carry the posts which still offered resistance. Their undisciplined soldiers, although scarcely within the walls of the city, had taken possession of the Alcana, the quarter inhabited by the Jewish traders, a body so numerous in Toledo, that one suburb could not hold them all.

The Jews were considered to be attached to the king, and were favoured by him, perhaps for the sake of the treasurer, who was of the same persuasion; their greatest crime, however, consisted in their carrying on traffic, and possessing money, and valuable merchandize. The mercenaries of the Conde and the master, led by the Christian populace, broke open and pillaged the shops, massacring all those who came in their way, without distinction either of age or sex. In a few hours

several hundred Jews were, it is said, thus butchered in the Alcana. Those, however, in the Grand Jewry, assisted by some more Christian-like knights or burghers, remained secure and unharmed behind their walls. The remainder of the day and the whole of the night, were passed amidst a frightful scene of disorder.

On the first intimation from his partisans, the king immediately left Torrijos with his little army. Marching the whole night, after having forded the Tagus, he arrived at day-break, May the 8th, before San Martin's bridge, opposite the quarter of the Grand Jewry. This bridge was in the hands of the leaguers, who now that the approach of danger had forced them to cease pillaging, quickly placed themselves in a posture of defence. At this time, in consequence of a severe drought, the waters of the Tagus were very low, besides which, the width of the river was diminished by several mills, placed upon the bank opposite the city for the purposes of irrigation. From the top of their walls, the Jews threw ropes to the king's soldiers, who fastened them to these mills, and by their means slowly crossed the river one by one. At the same time, Don Pedro attacked the entrance to the bridge. So soon as the guard had signaled the king's approach, Don Enrique and Don Fadrique repaired to San Martin's Towers, to animate the soldiers by their presence and example. But the principal tower having neither battlements nor parapets, could not protect its defenders against the king's archers, who in a few moments cleared the platform.

Vainly did the bravest knights of Santiago and Calatrava, endeavour to maintain their position under a shower of arrows; the majority of them being wounded, they were obliged to abandon their dangerous post.* Whilst the fight was going on at the entrance to San Martin's bridge, three hundred of the king's men-at-arms, had passed the Tagus in single file, and having been admitted into the Grand Jewry, made a breach in the rampart, and prepared to attack the Conde's troop in the rear. Already had his discouraged soldiers begun to retreat, and seek an asylum in the churches. No one dared remain longer in the tower; the massive gate against which the royalists had heaped vine twigs and dry wood, was on fire, and thus opened a passage for them. Then, just as an entrance was on the point of being effected, the two bastards sounded a retreat. At the head of about eight hundred cavalleros, hastily assembled, they quitted Toledo by the Alcantara gate, at the same moment that the king entered the city by San Martin's bridge, with two thousand five hundred men-at-arms, and six hundred genetours.† He hoped

* The *Torre de la puente* had for one of its defenders Don Pero Ruiz de Sandoval, that honest and brave commander of Santiago, who, as has been related, when his castle of Montiel was summoned by the king, confided it to the care of a lay esquire, and offered *his body* to the head of his order; the others were Alfonso Jufre Tenorio, Fernand Sanchez de Rojas, and Pero Alvaros, a knight of Calatrava. "Cronica de Don Pedro," p. 185.—*T.*

† Ginetes, light armed cavalry. The word genetours is used by Froissart. "This Moorish seat, with short stirrups," says Sir Edmund Head, in a note to his "Handbook of Spanish Painting," "is, I imagine what is meant in the Spanish ballads by the

to traverse the city and fall upon his brothers before the approaching night should cover their retreat. But discipline was no better preserved in his army, than in that of the rebels. The soldiers disbanded, broke into

phrase 'Caballero à la gineta,' as opposed to the seat of the heavy armed knights, in which the purchase was obtained by straightening the leg in the stirrup, with the high croupe to the saddle behind, and the body leaning forward with the lance in rest." Thus in the ballad of the Moor, who was pursued by the Cid from Valencia (Duran, II, p. 139), the costume of the former is thus described :—

"Hélo, Hélo, por do viene
El moro por la calzada
Caballero à la gineta
Encima una yeguna baya,
Borcequies marroquíes
Y espuela de oro calzada
Una adarga ante los pechos
Y en su mano una azagaya."

In Lord Berner's "Froissart," Enrique of Trastamara, when reckoning his forces before the battle of Najera, is made to say, "I have thre thousande *barded horses*, the whiche shall be two wynges to our batayle; and I have also seven thousande *genetours*." (cap. CCXXXVI.) In another ballad the Moor Arbolan is called

"El mas gallardo ginete
Que jamas tuvo Granada—
Diestro en una y otra silla."

That is to say, a good horseman, either in the Moorish fashion, or in the seat of a knight, as occasion might require. Head's "Handbook to the Spanish and French Schools of Painting." The term *ginete*, also, occurs in "Don Quixote." *See* the Captive's Tale. "Apenas uso dicho esto el Cristiano cautivo, quando el *ginete* se arrojo del cavallo y vino a abrazar el mozo."—*T.*

the houses, and instead of pursuing the fugitives, commenced pillaging. The king, however, with a few followers, sought the enemy through the winding streets of Toledo, and earnestly endeavoured to come to an engagement.

Meanwhile, the two brothers coasting along the left bank of the Tagus, retreated to Talavera, being obliged to describe a semi-circle around the city, which brought them upon the road the royal army had taken. At the entrance to San Martin's bridge, they perceived the king's baggage still outside the towers, and indifferently guarded; for the enemy was not expected to appear on the side, where he had just been defeated. They at once attacked this confused mass of waggons, and beasts of burden, defeated the escort, and after devoting a few minutes to pillage, hastily continued their retreat. The king pursued them for some time, and did not enter Toledo until night, furious at not having succeeded in overtaking his two brothers.*

Don Pedro, now master of the town, for the Alcazar had immediately declared for him, showed himself as unrelenting as he had been at Medina del Campo. Fernando Sanchez de Rojas, one of the twenty leaguers present at the conference at Tejadillo, who had been wounded at the attack upon San Martin's bridge, and Alfonso Gomez, a commander of Calatrava, who had also been unable to effect his escape from Toledo, were put to death, so soon as they were recognized. All the wounded that the enemy had left in the houses were slain. Several nobles of Toledo were sent captive to

* Ayala, p. 181-187.

distant castles, as also Don Pedro Barroso, the Bishop of Siguenza, whose palace was given up to pillage. All the goods of the prisoners were confiscated; and finally twenty-two burghers were publicly beheaded, as abettors of the rebellion. In the number of unhappy men condemned to death, was a goldsmith, above eighty years of age. His son threw himself at Don Pedro's feet, beseeching him to let him die in his father's stead. If Ayala may be credited, both the king and the father himself, were willing to allow this horrible exchange.*

The first orders Don Pedro issued, had been to take possession of the Alcazar in his name, and to secure the person of the queen. He refused to see her, and as though he feared that chance might bring him into her presence, he took up his residence in a house in the city. A few days afterwards, Hinestrosa conducted the unhappy Blanche to the castle of Siguenza, of which he had been lord, ever since the lands of Bishop Barroso had been confiscated, and divided amongst the king's favourites. Whilst the queen was exchanging one prison for another, Don Pedro wrote to the Pope to acquaint him with the success of his arms; he informed him that he was reconciled to his wife, and that he treated her with respect. This impudent lie appears to have deceived the sovereign pontiff, who replied by an affectionate letter, exhorting him to continue in this good way.† To give greater show of truth to the

* Ayala, p. 189.

† Brief of Innocent VI., of the 8th of July 1355, Ayala, p. 187.

falsehood, the king took care not to appear with Maria de Padilla in public. She did not follow him in his expeditions, but lived in retirement, affecting great reserve; satisfied with the reality of power, she carefully concealed all appearance of it. Thus had the precocious experience, acquired in revolutions, made these young people of twenty years of age, adepts in hypocrisy. After their defeat at Toledo, Don Enrique and his brother did not consider that they were safe at Talavera; they shut themselves up within the walls of Toro, whither they had been invited by Queen Maria, who judged rightly that the king would, ere long, turn his arms against this quarter. "I received you in my city a few months ago," wrote the queen to them. "For your sake, I have lost my son, it is therefore but just that now you should defend me." Don Pedro in reality soon retook the road to Toro, with a considerable force, leaving Toledo in a state of alarm at the fierceness of his revenge. On his way, he stopped before Cuenca, a town of some importance, occupied by Alvar de Albornoz, tutor to Don Sancho, a natural son of the late king Don Alfonso and Doña Leonor. He was a child of fourteen years of age. The king desired that the boy should be placed in his hands; but after a fortnight's siege, being pressed for time, he was satisfied with exacting from Albornoz an oath to abstain from hostilities. Upon receiving this promise, he continued his road, and reappeared before Toro, about the middle of the summer.

The two bastards had there concentrated nearly all their forces, and a great number of Ricos Hombres and

cavalleros, were assembled from all those parts of the kingdom, which still supported the League. Among the chiefs might be remarked Ruy Gonzalez de Castañeda, brother-in-law to Garci Laso de la Vega, and head of the Lara faction; Pero Estebañez Carpentero, elected Master of Calatrava, after the death of his uncle Nuñez de Prado, by a few knights of the order, who thus protested against the nomination of Diego de Padilla; Martin Telho, the Portuguese, who was accounted the favoured lover of Queen Maria; lastly Alfonso Tellez Giron, who had lately deserted from the royal army. All those who were too far compromised to hope for pardon from the king, imagined that they could not find a safer asylum. Their united forces amounted to nearly one thousand two hundred men-at-arms, without reckoning a numerous body of infantry and the burghers of the city. The place was strong, protected by the Duero, which rendered it difficult of access, and moreover well provisioned; thus every thing promised an obstinate and vigorous resistance.

IV.

At this period, much time and expense were necessary to procure the requisites for carrying on a siege, such as wood for battering-rams, tools for pioneers, camp apparatus, provisions for the soldiers, and other necessaries. All these could not be obtained without time and trouble, especially in the present condition of the king's finances. In accordance with the medieval custom of carrying on war, he had established himself in Morales, a village at a short distance from Toro,

and the same place which the Confederates had chosen for their head quarters when they blockaded that city. Thence he despatched his knights to skirmish about the outskirts of Toro; himself often heading petty expeditions against those castles in the neighbourhood which were occupied by the rebels. Sometimes conquering, sometimes repulsed, he quieted his impatience by these incessant marauding excursions. Twice a week,* he led out all his forces before the walls of Toro; lances were broken, and arrows discharged on either side, for the space of a few hours; when night approached, a retreat was sounded; and this was called pursuing the war. No measures were taken to blockade the besieged, or to intercept their communications. They received reinforcements, and sent out small bodies of troops to fight, up the country, at some distance from their fort. Don Enrique, during a temporary absence of the king, set out for Galicia, where Fernando de Castro had preceded him several months before. Fernando's enthusiasm for the cause of the leaguers had considerably cooled, and moreover he now lived on very bad terms with his brothers-in-law, who, he said, desired to annul his marriage. Don Enrique announced that he would return shortly, and reinforce his allies with a numerous army; but those who were acquainted with the precocious prudence of this young prince suspected that, feeling little confidence in the strength of his party, and careful for his own safety, he had resolved not to remain in a place which the fortune of war might at any time deliver into the king's hands.

* Ayala, p. 192.

Formerly, when in 1352 Don Pedro had made preparations to attack him in Gijon, the Conde, instead of awaiting his arrival, had retired into the mountains, and there secured a safe retreat. Convinced that no town or fortress was impregnable, he had made it a rule never to entrust his safety to stone walls.

Whilst this petty warfare continued in the neighbourhood of Toro, Don Juan, the Infante of Aragon, was attacking Don Tello at Biscay. Although the Infante was personally interested in the conquest of this province, for being married to the second daughter of Don Juan Nuñez de Lara, he imagined that in the event of his expelling Don Tello the lordship of Biscay would devolve upon him, his military operations proceeded but slowly, and the royal troops obtained no success. Consisting principally of cavalry,* they fought under great disadvantage in a mountainous country, the inhabitants of which, naturally hardy and warlike, become invincible when they fight for their domestic hearths. But the greatest obstacle to the king's success was the bad state of his finances. Simuel el Levi had, however, the skill to devise new resources for his master, and, notwithstanding the universal disorder, succeeded in procuring money, and even in amassing treasure, thus exhibiting a capability which in a financier of that age passed for the greatest proof of genius. The following anecdote is related by Ayala, and will show what simple measures were employed by the Jew to replenish the royal coffers.

* Ayala, p. 195.

Don Pedro was one day amusing himself in his quarters at Morales by playing at dice. His military chest, which when at play also served for his private purse, lay open before him. It contained 20,000 doubloons. "See," said the king, in a melancholy tone, "this is all the gold and silver I have." When the game was ended, Simuel drew the prince aside: "Sire," he said, "you have to-day affronted me before the whole court. Is it not a personal disgrace to me, your treasurer, that my master is not richer? Hitherto your collectors have taken advantage of your indulgent disposition. Now that you are of an age to govern for yourself, now that you are feared and loved by all Castile, it is time to put an end to this disorder. Only authorize me to treat with your officers of finance, and entrust me with two of your castles, and I promise you that ere long you shall have in each a larger amount of gold than is contained in that casket."

It may be well imagined that the king without hesitation invested Don Simuel with full powers, and also with the castles he had not unreasonably demanded, for in those days a strongly-built fortress was needed for the safe keeping of treasure. We shall see how the Jew fulfilled his promise. The custom was to pay the court salaries, and pensions, by orders upon the receivers of the king's taxes. Now these usually paid only a small part of the amount due, and unless the demands for the surplus were backed by force, they were always ineffectual. Simuel el Levi who was determined to bring these officers to book, began by frightening them, and having men-at-arms, jailors and executioners at his command,

insisted upon payment of the arrears; he admitted no excuse, and either by stratagem or threats, had the whole paid up in a shorter time than could have been expected. He also summoned the king's creditors, and offered them half of what was their due, upon condition that they would give a discharge in full for the remainder. The greater number, who believed that they had irrecoverably lost the sums the receivers had appropriated, joyfully accepted the proposal, and esteemed themselves fortunate in obtaining the half of their debt.*

This proceeding, which in our time would be branded as a fraudulent act of bankruptcy, but the fairness of which no one then thought of disputing, procured the king in a short time a very considerable sum, and gave him the highest opinion of his treasurer. Simuel el Levi knew also how to re-establish order in the financial department; he appointed as receivers of the customs intelligent Jews, who at once made him large advances. Don Pedro's finances were soon placed upon an entirely new footing, and he became the richest sovereign in all Spain.

V.

Two months and a half had passed at Morales, when all the preparations having at last been concluded, the king approached Toro, and began the siege. The delay had not been altogether useless to him. The garrison was considerably reduced, first by the retreat of the Conde Don Enrique, afterwards by

* Ayala, p. 195.

continual desertions. Moreover, amongst the Ricos Hombres who were shut up in the city, a great number were alarmed at the king's progress, and betrayed some inclination to treat for their individual advantage. Affairs were in this state, when the royal army encamped upon the left bank of the Duero, opposite a fortified bridge, which gave access to the town, and was defended by a strong tower upon the country side. Bastilles were rapidly erected around this outwork; balistas, catapults, and bombards, all the machines of war in use at that period were employed to reduce it.

The skirmishes, nevertheless, continued not only around Toro, but in Biscay and Estremadura, especially in the environs of Talavera, an important commandery of Santiago, occupied by the knights who obeyed Don Fadrique, and attacked by those who recognized Garcia de Villagera as the chief of the order. Thus there were at one and the same time, two Grand Masters of Santiago, and two Grand Masters of Calatrava, and these orders being thus split into factions like the rest of the kingdom, carried on an incessant and sanguinary war.

The king's troops were rarely successful, except when they were sustained by his presence. Juan Rodriguez de Sandoval, his lieutenant before Palenzuela, was defeated and killed in an ambuscade, and a short time afterwards Villagera lost his life in an engagement with Gonzalo Mexia before Talavera. It was remarked that the king did not immediately appoint a successor. He seemed, in leaving the Mastership vacant, to entertain a hope of inducing his brother to

submit, and it was in some measure preparing a way for an accommodation, not to dispose of an appointment to which so many of his subjects aspired. Besides, Don Pedro still continued to exercise the same influence in the elections of the military orders. At the beginning of the autumn of 1355, upon the death of Perez Ponce de Leon, Master of Alcantara, he had obliged the commanders to nominate Diego de Zavallos, a relation of Hinestrosa,* although he was not even a knight of the order. Within two months, however, he repented of his choice, and upon hearing that Zavallos was in treaty with the rebels of Paleuzuela, he had him arrested; the election of Don Diego was annulled, and the king appointed Suero Martinez, chamberlain of the order of Alcantara, as his successor.†

About the end of November, 1355, at the time when the assailants were actively employed in pressing the siege forward, Cardinal Guillen, deacon of Santa Maria in. Cosmedin, arrived in the king's camp, with full powers from the Pope, not only to effect a reconciliation between the king and his wife, but further, to terminate, by a lasting peace, the civil war which was

* Doña Elvira, the daughter of Don Diego de Zavallos, was the mother of the chronicler, Pero de Ayala.—*See* Torres y Tapia, Cron. de Alcant., t. II, p. 80.

† Zavallos, after having been kept some time a prisoner in one of the fortresses, under the care of Hinestrosa, succeeded in escaping and obtaining refuge in Aragon.—Compare Rades, "Cronica de Alcantara," p. 27. Ayala, p. 197, and following. According to Torres y Tapia, "Cron. de Alcant.," t. II, p. 80, and following, Zavallos was pardoned by Don Pedro, and obtained other employment.

desolating Castile. He, moreover, came to demand the liberation of the Bishop of Siguenza, who had been detained a prisoner in the castle of Aguilar, ever since the taking of Toledo. But though he was received with all due honours, the legate was not slow in perceiving that the king, notwithstanding his affected deference to the Holy See, was resolved not to allow any foreign interference between his revolted subjects and himself. At the same time, however, that he peremptorily rejected the offers made by the legate to interpose his authority in order to bring the rebels to submission, Don Pedro was pleased to testify the greatest respect for his character and person. He at once granted the Bishop of Siguenza his liberty, though not without intimating his desire, that the bishop should quit the kingdom; in return he obtained from the cardinal the removal of the interdict and excommunication fulminated at Toledo.* The presence of the legate did not stay the operations of the siege; on the contrary, they were now prosecuted with greater rigour than before. On the 4th of December, the tower which defended the bridge across the Duero, having been almost destroyed by the engines of the assailants, was carried after an obstinate fight, in which Don Diego de Padilla especially distinguished himself: in mounting the breach he had his arm broken with a stone, thrown, it is said, by his rival, Estebañez Carpentero, the soi-disant master of Calatrava.† Now that the tower had been taken, the besieged began to lose

* Ayala. p. 201. Rainaldi, Ann. eccles., t. xxv, p. 629.

† Ayala, p. 202. Rades, Cron. de Catal., p. 56.

courage. The foreign soldiers, shut up in the town, were ill paid and ill fed. The burghers, who sold to them, at a high price, the provisions which they stored up, murmured against the obstinacy of the nobles. "It was their cupidity and ambition," they declared, "that prolonged this disastrous war, and ruined the country." Among the chiefs of the League, some, though few in number, insisted upon protracting their resistance—others were for imploring the king's clemency. Several wrote secretly to their friends or relations in the royal army, to solicit pardon, promising to surrender immediately if they were assured of an amnesty. Don Pedro was easily prevailed upon to grant letters of pardon to cavalleros, and even to Ricos Hombres, but always on condition that they should immediately throw themselves upon his mercy. On their side, the burghers of Toro, who were weary of the siege, and dreaded the fury of the conquerors, endeavoured to negotiate a peace without the knowledge of the queen, or the chiefs of the League. A merchant named Garci Triguero, captain of the civic guard, offered to open one of the city gates to the king, upon promise of a free pardon for himself and his fellow-citizens. The proposal was accepted, and the royalists only awaited the hour fixed by Triguero for the execution of his project.

Although these transactions still remained concealed from the queen and Don Fadrique, the dejection of the garrison, the murmurs of the inhabitants, and the despondency of most of the chiefs, filled them with anxiety. Vague rumours gave rise every moment to fresh apprehensions that some treachery had placed

the city in Don Pedro's power. Winter had not interrupted the works of the besiegers. It was now the 24th of January, 1356. On this day, Triguero was on guard at one of the gates, and had apprised the king that he was ready to admit him. A signal was agreed upon, orders were given for a nocturnal surprise. Some hours before the projected attack, towards the decline of day, the king riding along the banks of the Duero, saw upon an island in the river, of which the besieged were still masters, his brother Don Fadrique, accompanied by five or six horsemen. The two troops recognized each other. Immediately Juan de Hinestrosa spurring his horse to the brink of the river, called out to the Master of Santiago, beseeching him to advance and listen to what he had to say. The river was not so broad but that they could easily converse from the opposite banks. "Sir Master," said Hinestrosa, "when the late king, Don Alfonso, your father, to whom God be merciful, regulated your household, before you were created Master of Santiago, he gave you knights and esquires for your vassals. I was amongst the number, and many favours have I received from you. Thus, except in what relates to the duty I owe my lord the king, God is my witness that there is no man to whom I consider myself more beholden than to you, and I would do anything to prove my gratitude, consistently with the loyalty due to the king your brother. You are in great danger. I adjure you in presence of these knights, your companions, to follow my advice, so that in case you disregard it, no one may be able to say that I have contributed to

your ruin. Henceforth I stand acquitted towards you, for I have fulfilled the duty which belonged to one who has formerly been your vassal."

The Master, much troubled by this mysterious language, to which the high favour Hinestrosa enjoyed gave additional weight, immediately replied, "Juan Fernandez, I have ever accounted you a good knight, and whilst with me, you ever served me loyally. But what is this counsel you would give me? Can I abandon the queen, who has placed herself under my protection, Doña Juana, my brother Enrique's wife, and so many noble knights and esquires who are in this city? But for them I would willingly treat; and as for you, Hinestrosa, your duty is to represent to your lord how much it will aid his cause to receive the queen and the nobles who surround her into favour, and to grant them his protection." "Sir Master," replied Hinestrosa, "I only do my duty. Take my word that, if you do not at once implore the king's mercy, you are in danger of death; I dare say no more; but I call all here present to bear witness to my words." Don Fadrique, more alarmed than ever, asked if he were sure that the king would forgive him. Then Don Pedro cried in a loud voice, "Brother, Hinestrosa is an honest man and counsels you well. Throw yourself on my mercy and I will pardon you, and all the knights in the island with you. But no delay! come at once:" Don Fadrique hesitated no longer, and crossing the river, sank on his knees before the king, and kissed his hand.*

* Ayala, p. 203, and following.

A crowd of inhabitants looked on from the ramparts of Toro during this strange scene, though unable to hear the words that passed between the two brothers. When they saw Don Fadrique fall at the king's feet, a cry immediately arose in all the streets, "Betrayed, betrayed!* The Master deserts us!" The terror and confusion were as great as though the hostile army had already mounted the breach. The Queen, the Condessa de Trastamara, and the principal chiefs hastened to shut themselves in the castle, imagining that they were safer there than in the interior of the city. Some attempted to escape into the country, but every outlet was guarded by the royal troops. No one gave further orders; each man thought only of his individual safety, or rather abandoned himself to despair, not knowing what course to take. Night came on, Don Pedro made his troops arm, passed the Duero in perfect silence, and arrived before the Puerta de Santa Catalina, where Triguero kept guard. It opened at the concerted signal; the king's soldiers entered in good order and took possession of the towers, the ramparts, and all the posts, with the exception of the castle, the avenues to which were blockaded.

At day-break, the inhabitants of the castle, who had been forewarned by the unusual uproar which they had heard in the city, perceived the royal army in battle array before their barriers, and preparing to commence the assault. No one talked of resistance, or even of demanding a capitulation; life was the only favour they expected.

* A cry of alarm, which we often meet with in Froissart: "They came to the windows of the gate and began to cry out in a loud voice: 'Betrayed! betrayed!' Then were they seized with fear and trembling, &c."—Froissart, Book III. chap. XCIX.

But to go forth and implore the king's mercy required more resolution than they possessed, every one shrank from encountering the first outburst of his rage. At last a Navarrese knight, named Martin Abarca, who had sided during the late troubles with the bastards, ventured to a postern gate, holding in his arms a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, a natural son of Don Alfonso and Doña Leonor. He recognized the king by his armour, and called out to him, saying, "Sire, pardon me, and I will cast myself at your feet, and restore to you your brother Don Juan!" "Martin Abarca," said the king, "I forgive my brother Juan;* but for thee, there is no pardon." "Well," returned the Navarrese, crossing the moat, "do with me as you will!" And still holding the child, he came and prostrated himself before the king. Don Pedro, touched by this act, the courage of despair, granted Abarca his life amidst the applause of all the Castilian knights.

The castle gate, however, still remained closed. Don Pedro sent word to the queen, his mother, that she must appear in his presence. She replied by demanding a safe conduct for herself and the nobles of her train. "Let her come immediately;" cried the king impatiently, "I know what I have to do." They still hesitated to obey. Ruiz Gonzalez de Castañeda, one of the twenty leaguers present at Tejadillo, had, a few days before, secretly requested, and obtained a letter of pardon. He shows it to his companions, and presses them to surrender, assuring them that there is no cause

* The author of the chronicle of that Spanish Sidney, Don Pero Nino, speaks of Brother Juan as "muy buena creatura." "Cronica de Don Pero Nino."—*T.*

for fear. His confidence lends them hope, and the clemency of the king towards Abarca appearing a favourable augury, the draw-bridge is at last lowered, and the queen issues forth, accompanied by the Condessa de Trastamara, and four of the league chiefs, who had taken refuge with her: these were Martin Telho the Portuguese, Estebañez Carpentero, Master *intrus* of Calatrava, Gonzalez de Castañeda, and, lastly, Tellez Giron, who, a few months earlier, had deserted from the royal standard, Carpentero and Castañeda supported the trembling queen, one on each side. Castañeda held up the letter of amnesty unfolded. The others pressed around the two females, and clung to their garments, as though believing them their only safeguard. All sought some courtier of distinction, some chieftain of the royal army, whose protection they might implore. In order to reach the king's presence, this lugubrious procession had to pass through a compact body of men at arms, who awaited them sword in hand on the other side of the moat. It was necessary to cross the draw-bridge, and pass between two lines of soldiers. Castañeda, then displaying the parchment and the king's seal, exclaimed that he had Don Pedro's pardon, forgetting that he had allowed the time fixed for his submission to expire. They advanced slowly amidst the hooting and howling of the crowd—the king did not appear.

At some steps from the draw-bridge, an esquire of Diego de Padilla,* recognizing Carpentero by the insignia of Calatrava, broke through the press, and striking him

* Juan Sanchez de Oteo.

violently upon the head with his mace, laid him prostrate at the queen's feet.* A few strokes of the poniard finished him. This was the signal for the massacre. In an instant Castañeda,† Martin Telho, and Tellez Giron fell pierced by a thousand blows, deluging with their blood the garments of the two women, who had already fainted with terror. On regaining consciousness, the queen, supported in the arms of the ferocious soldiery, her feet in a pool of blood, opened her eyes, and beheld the four mutilated bodies already stripped naked. Then, despair and fury giving her strength, in a voice half choked by cries and sobs, she cursed her son, and accused him of having dishonoured her for ever. She was led away to her palace, where she was treated with the same mock respect which, in the preceding year, the leaguers had shown to their royal captive. The Condessa de Trastamara was immediately separated from the queen, and from this moment guarded with extreme rigour. Don Pedro never deferred till the morrow the execution of his awful sentences. On the same day several nobles were seized, both in the citadel and the city, and publicly beheaded. There his vengeance stopped. Satisfied by the death of the principal chiefs, the king pardoned the obscure hidalgos whom they had misled. As for the burghers, he faithfully kept the promise

* Rades, "Cron. de Calat." p. 56, asserts, without any authority, that the king killed him with his own hand in the queen's presence. I have followed the very circumstantial relation of Ayala, which alone deserves credence.

† "Castañeda was stabbed in the throat by an esquire, named Alfonso Fernandez de Castrillo." "Cronica del Rey Don Pedro," p. 207.—*T.*

made to Triguero. The city was not pillaged, or even deprived of any of its privileges.*

This sanguinary scene must not be judged by the standard of modern opinions, the manners of the middle ages must be called to remembrance, not to justify this horrible massacre, but to decide whether the odium ought to fall upon the prince who commanded it, or upon the epoch in which such catastrophes were of frequent occurrence. There is no doubt that according to the laws and customs of Castile, in the fourteenth century, rebellious vassals were merely looked upon as traitors whom every faithful subject was not only permitted, but bound to kill upon discovering their treachery. These men, although several times summoned to lay down their arms, and accept their lord's amnesty, had persisted in their rebellion, until the moment when resistance ceased to be possible. Carpentero, by assuming the title and arms of Grand Master of Calatrava, placed himself in open hostility, not only towards his king, but towards his order. When we recollect that he was slain by an esquire belonging to the legitimate Master, Diego de Padilla, we may conclude that it was in the character of an insubordinate brother that he received his death. Tellez Giron, to the crime of rebellion against his sovereign, added that of desertion to the enemy. Castañeda appears to have played the odious part of traitor to all parties. Whilst assisting at the council of the League, he was secretly in treaty with the king; he obtained a personal pardon from his sovereign, and yet shewed no intention of using it until

* Ayala, p. 207. Rades, Cron. de Calat. p. 56.

he had lost all hope of his companion's success. As to Martin Telho, he was a Portuguese subject, and a vassal of the queen-mother, and therefore could not be accounted guilty of high treason; but the blow struck at him was directed against the queen-dowager herself, and it was because Don Pedro could not punish his mother, that he thus acted towards her counsellor, and, according to popular belief, her lover. This act of vengeance was just, according to the mode of thought prevalent in the middle ages, for it was his duty to avenge any stain upon the honour of his house. Two centuries later, this authorized tyranny, or domestic despotism on the part of the head of a family, still existed in Spain, and, in obedience to the laws of honour, a gentleman was bound to stab, upon the spot, any man whom he might find alone with one of his female relatives.

In 1356, assuredly no person would have disputed Don Pedro's perfect right to make a signal example of the rebels at Toro; what, however, can we think of that butcher-like massacre of defenceless men who came, led by two women, to implore his pity? Clemency would, doubtless, have been sanctioned by public opinion, which had already lauded Don Pedro for having pardoned Martin Abarca. The crime of the four Ricos Hombres was, however, manifest; the mode of punishment employed in their case was allowed by custom, and perhaps no other was at that time possible. In truth, what tribunal could judge a Rico Hombre, who, like the king, was a species of independent sovereign beyond the reach of the laws? Upon such occasions as the one under consideration, as indeed in all political questions of the middle ages, precedents (fazañas) furnished

an authority, and unhappily examples were not wanting of similar extra-judicial executions. Don Alfonso had inflicted a like punishment upon Gonzalo Martinez, Master of Alcantara; and Alburquerque had ordered Alonso Coronel to be decapitated without form of trial. It was then no vain formula which enjoined all good subjects to pursue a rebel and put him to death. Gallant knights did not refuse to perform the office of executioners; and to slay an outlaw was at this period, as it is now in the East, an action which reflected no dishonour. Very few years have elapsed since the same instrument of punishment was used in Spain in the case of the noble as in that of the artisan. In the fourteenth century, a Castilian Rico Hombre would resign himself to the mace or sword of a knight more willingly than he would bend his head beneath the axe of an executioner.

The political result of the massacre of Toro proved that this terrible example had made a salutary impression upon the nobility: those constant opponents of the law, those restless disturbers of public tranquillity. The leaguers yet remaining in Castile, Estremadura, and the kingdom of Leon, immediately dispersed when they heard of the loss of their chief stronghold. Gonzalo Mexia, a commander of Santiago, who had just defeated the royalists near Talavera, hastily quitted Spain and sought refuge first in France, and afterwards in Aragon.* Albornoz fled from Cuenca to Zaragoza, taking with him his pupil, the young Don Sancho † After a few days' siege, the town of Palenzuela, which Queen Maria had given to the Conde de Trastamara,

* Ayala, p. 209. † Ibid., 09.

surrendered at discretion.* Don Tello, who, until then, had effectually maintained his independence in Biscay, now sued for mercy.† Lastly, Don Enrique himself, losing all hope of protracting a struggle so unequal, besought the king to grant him a safe conduct that he might quit Castile, and pass into France, where he intended to accept the rank and pay of a captain of a free company.‡ From the Pyrenees to the Straits of Gibraltar Don Pedro's authority was recognised. That nobility which had lately made him their prisoner, now bowed the knee before his mighty power; the church which had laid his kingdom under interdict was content with a trifling reparation; finally, notwithstanding the ruinous expenses of war, the king found himself in possession of a considerable treasure, absolute throughout his realm, and feared by all his neighbours.

VI.

Ayala, whose veracity I am always unwilling to call in question, in relating the last events of the civil war in Castile, imputes to Don Pedro the planning of an act of treachery, of which he has alleged no proof, and which seems too improbable to be ascribed to the king upon the faith of a single testimony, however unexceptionable that testimony may be. During the siege of Palenzuela, says the chronicler, the two Infantes of Aragon, Don Fadrique and Don Juan de la Cerda, who had been recently the

* Ayala, p. 210.

† Ibid., p. 210.

‡ Ibid., p. 213.

chiefs of the League, were all assembled in the camp of Don Pedro. He had resolved to rid himself of them, but to make his revenge more complete, he desired one more victim. Don Tello had already sent in his submission, and Juan de Avendaño, his principal counsellor, and the most influential man in Biscay, having been won over by the king's gold, had promised to induce the young prince to come in person and seek pardon for his long-continued disobedience. The king, accordingly, asked Juan de Hinestrosa in confidence, to devise the surest means of destroying all his enemies at once. Loyal knight as he was, Hinestrosa shuddered at such an act of treachery, but knew his master too well to oppose his scheme of vengeance openly. Besides, he had private designs of his own, and, above all, he desired to save two poor esquires who had fought at Palenzuela with the desperation of men whose lives are already forfeited. "Sire," said Hinestrosa, "for the present, hold out hopes of mercy to the defenders of the city. It is important to gain it as soon as possible. When once we are masters of the place, confide the care of the donjon to me. I will feign sickness there. You shall come to see me bringing with you these nobles your enemies, under colour of playing dice in my apartment: once within the walls of the donjon with only a small escort, they cannot escape you." This plan seemed good to the king, but it failed through the prudence of Don Tello, who could not be prevailed upon to leave Biscay. "The king was much annoyed," adds Ayala, whom I continue to quote, "and afterwards he used to relate

to his intimate friends how, by such a scheme, he had thought to inveigle and destroy his five most irreconcileable enemies all at once."*

Let us first remark how unlikely it is, that in order to save two obscure gentlemen, Hinestrosa should be forced to consent, or appear to consent, to the commission of so odious a crime. Moreover, is it probable, that at the moment when, with the king's concurrence, he had just saved Don Fadrique's life, that prince should commission him to invent some plan of ambuscade for the purpose of destroying the Master? If we are to imagine that Don Pedro, in the craftiness of his policy, refrained from striking his enemies until they were all assembled, lest the death of one of them might serve as a warning to the others, how can we suppose that he would not have made the greatest effort possible to draw into the snare the Conde de Trastamara, who was a much more dangerous opponent than Don Tello? We are to believe then that he would have been contented with five heads, but that four would not satisfy him. What precision, what method in his vengeance!

That Don Pedro, notwithstanding his oaths, had preserved his hatred and mistrust of the bastards and those Ricos Hombres who had offended him, is unhappily too probable; but is it credible that at a time when the disorders in the kingdom were not yet appeased, he should have wantonly rekindled the fire of civil war by the commission of an execrable crime, a crime moreover useless so long as Don Enrique lived! He

* Ayala, p. 211.

alone would suffice to rally the discontented, and would have become so much the more formidable when his authority was no longer shared with others. However, notwithstanding all these improbabilities, I cannot pronounce the judicious Ayala guilty of a gratuitous calumny. It is possible that Don Pedro, embittered by misfortune, and recollecting that once he had his mortal enemies in his power, might have openly expressed his regret at not having profited by the opportunity fortune had presented. Thence, perhaps, originated the story I have just related, the inconsistency of which, I think I have clearly demonstrated. Let me add, that Don Tello, when informed of the correspondence secretly carried on between the king and his counsellor Avendaño, caused him to be assassinated a short time after the taking of Palenzuela, "by which," says the chronicler, "Don Tello became more absolute master in Biscay than he had been before."* It may reasonably be imagined that the young prince, in order to justify this murder, affected to believe Avendaño more guilty than he was in reality, and that he gave credit to the reports circulated of treasonable practices meditated against his friends and himself.

Nor do I think that we need attach greater credit to another project of assassination said to have been devised about the same time against Don Fadrique alone, who, according to Ayala, was intended to have been killed in a tournament held at Tordesillas in the presence of Maria de Padilla. "But," adds he naïvely, "the scheme failed, the king not choosing to discover the secret to those who

* Ayala, p. 214. We shall soon see that our chronicler was much deceived as to the consequences of this murder.

were to have done the deed."* If we are to find a meaning for this phrase, I presume it was proposed to give to the opponents of the Master some unknightly weapon like the poisoned foil in Shakespeare's Hamlet. I am not sure that I ought to stop to justify Don Pedro for a crime which was never consummated, and indeed the very vagueness of the accusation renders defence difficult; I shall content myself with opposing to an imputation resting upon so slender a foundation, a fact cited by the same Ayala, which demonstrates its improbability. Immediately after the tournament of Tordesillas, two men, attached to the person of Don Fadrique, the one a burgher of Valladolid, the other of Toledo, were arrested and put to death by the court Alguazils. Both had borne an active part in the late troubles, and had been associated with the most factious of the League.† If Don Pedro were then really plotting the destruction of the Master of Santiago, he very speedily forgot that treacherous policy which just now was attributed to him, for by punishing the inferior followers of his brother, he gave him reason to fear on his own account, and thus placed him on his guard. On the other hand, is it not evident that in executing obscure rebels like these, the king had no other intention than to display his power, and to let the grandees of his kingdom, especially Don Fadrique, see the reward he reserved for the rebellious? Don Pedro loved to make himself feared, and Don Fadrique had, by his conduct, merited a still severer

* "Pero non se pudo facer, ca non les quiso el rey descobrir este secreto a los que entraron en el torneo, que avian de facer esta obra, e por tanto cesò." Ayala, p. 212.

† Ayala, p. 212.

lesson than he had already received through the punishment of his adherents.

Castile was now pacified. The condition of the northern provinces no longer inspired uneasiness. Don Tello, however, still found pretexts for remaining in Biscay. The king, weary of expecting his arrival, but satisfied, or feigning to be satisfied with the reiterated assurances of submission which he received from him, repaired with his whole court to Seville, which had already by its pleasant situation and the industry of its inhabitants, become the most important city of his empire. It was his residence from choice; he took pleasure in embellishing it with magnificent monuments, in giving there sumptuous entertainments and fêtes, and displaying a luxury hitherto unknown to the sovereigns of Castile. Maria de Padilla followed him to Seville, and occupied an apartment in the Alcazar. Since the termination of his misfortunes, Don Pedro had thrown aside the mask. He now treated his mistress as a queen, and the people had learned to respect his choice.

CHAPTER X.

FIRST WAR WITH ARAGON.
1356 TO 1358.

I.

THE treaty of Atienza, which was as ill observed by Castile, as by Aragon, had failed in establishing amicable relations between the two courts. Since Alburquerque's retirement, the coldness and distrust between them had increased. A conflict between these rival monarchs, both young, ambitious, passionate, and aiming at absolute dominion, had been continually apprehended, and doubtless it would have taken place sooner but that Pedro IV. had been forced to turn his attention to the revolt in Sardinia, and Don Pedro was entirely occupied with the civil war raging in his own kingdom. On both sides their domestic grievances were serious. The Aragonese monarch saw with displeasure that his half brothers, Don Fernando and Don Juan, had been welcomed at the Castilian court, and through the intestine disorders of that country, were become powerful. The cession of Alicante and Orihuela made by Don Fernando to Don Pedro, had appeared to reveal projects of aggression which Pedro IV. endeavoured to counteract by secretly inducing the Infantes to withdraw from the

service of Castile, under promise of great favours.* In fact, the possession of two such important towns laid the kingdom of Valencia open to the Castilian monarch, and seemed to invite him to attempt its conquest. On his side Don Pedro alleged more serious grounds of complaint: first of all the asylum granted by Pedro IV. to the proscribed Castilian nobles, after the taking of Toro, contrary to the conditions annexed to the treaty of Atienza; secondly his having given to a knight who was a rebel to his chief the commandery of Alcaniz, which, although situated in the kingdom of Valencia was the property of the order of Calatrava and consequently holden of the Castilian Grand Master; or at least Pedro IV. had recognized this insubordinate brother and accorded him his protection. Similar grounds for dissatisfaction had arisen with respect to the commandery of Montalvan, which was dependent upon the order of Santiago, and had been usurped, notwithstanding the earnest protest made by Don Fadrique since his reconciliation with his brother; lastly, certain Castilian pirates cruizing along the Andalucian shores had considerably injured the commerce of that province. Under pretence of pursuing Genoese vessels, they had captured or pillaged a number of ships laden with wheat, and to their lawless violence was attributed the disastrous famine which had desolated the south of the Peninsula.†

* The Lord of Hijar was the mediator in this negociation in 1355. *See* Letter of Pedro IV., to the Lord of Hijar, dated from Castel de Caller, 1st of July, 1355. Archivo general de Aragon, register 1293 Secretorum, p. 22.

† Zurita, Anal. de Aragon, p. 268, and following. Ayala, p. 217.

To these open wrongs, which gave rise to diplomatic negociations far from amicable, were added the suspicion of secret intrigues, carried on by the King of Aragon with the discontented subjects of Castile. The recent attempts which he had made to attach to his service Don Fernando and Don Juan, whom Don Pedro considered his vassals, seemed to the latter a culpable and unworthy proceeding. Pedro IV. in reality, when proposing a reconciliation with his brothers, only aimed at recovering Alicante and Orihuela, those sureties for the fidelity of the Infantes which had been so dearly purchased by the King of Castile. And it was well known in Seville that the Aragonese prince maintained likewise a secret correspondence with Don Tello, Don Enrique, and the leaguers who had sought refuge in France. On both sides, the distrust was extreme, and the most treacherous designs were imputed to each monarch. In short, a rupture was inevitable, and was accelerated by a casual incident.

Don Pedro, having embarked at Seville, had descended the Guadalquivir as far as San Lucar de Barrameda in order to take part in the tunny fishery. At the time he entered the gulf, a squadron of ten Catalan gallies arrived there from Barcelona. These vessels were commanded by a celebrated admiral, named Francisco Perellos, and were in the pay of the King of France, who with the consent of the King of Aragon, had fitted them out to cruise along the sea-coast against the English. Perellos, a corsair from choice as well as by habit, although a man of good family and allied to the royal house of Aragon,* was giving chase to three

* Zurita, p. 269 verso.

barks from Placentia,* laden with oil, and had followed them to the San Lucar roads. Although they carried the Castilian flag, and were in a friendly port, even in the same waters as the galley which bore the King of Castile, the Catalans boarded them, declaring that they were laden with Genoese merchandize, and as such a lawful prize, the King of Aragon being at war with the republic of Genoa. Don Pedro immediately despatched a messenger to the Aragonese admiral, warning him that he was violating the laws of the sea, and wanting in the respect due to the royal person. Perellos insolently replied, that he was only accountable for his conduct to his master the King of Aragon. At that moment Don Pedro, not having a single ship of war in the roads, was unable to maintain the honour of his flag; however he again signified to Perellos that in default of immediate satisfaction, he should hold the Catalan merchants established at Seville responsible for this outrage, and would sequestrate their property. The admiral, aware that he was the stronger, refused to resign his prey, sold his prizes, and even dared to reascend the Guadalquivir and commit depredations on its banks; then veering to the north he again entered the wide ocean and pursued his way towards the coast of France.†

Don Pedro, beside himself with passion, hastened to Seville, and refusing to hear any explanation, ordered all his Catalan subjects to be placed in irons, their pro-

* * Placentia, in Biscay, four leagues from Bilboa. The Conde de la Roca imagines, very preposterously, a I think, that these barks came from Placentia in Italy.—*Rey Don Pedro def.*, p. 37, verso.

† Ayala, p. 215.

perty seized, their warehouses ransacked, and their merchandize sold. The same day, hastily equipping seven gallies, he embarked with all the young nobility of Seville,* and set out in pursuit of Perellos. On arriving at Tavira in the Portuguese seas, he learned that the Catalans were too far in advance to afford any hope of overtaking them. He was therefore obliged to return to Seville without having avenged the insult offered to his flag. Still further irritated by the ill success of his cruize, he despatched ambassadors to Barcelona to make complaints, and at the same time sent out some vessels to sail for the Balearic Isles, and capture all the Catalan ships which they should meet,† so that the King of Aragon might hear of the commencement of hostilities, before he was made acquainted with the outrage which furnished the pretext for them. Ayala supposes that the king was incited to these acts of violence by Maria de Padilla's relatives, who, feeling their credit on the decline, thought, he says, to render themselves necessary to their master by urging him to engage in a dangerous war; however it appears to me that the proud character of Don Pedro, his former grievances, and the personal insult which he had just received, are sufficient to explain his conduct.‡

Whilst the Castilian gallies were ravaging the Balearic coasts, Don Pedro's ambassadors arrived at Barcelona with the following instructions:—They were to

* Zuñiga, Anales eclesiasticos de Sevilla, t. II, p. 141, remarks, that Don Pedro was the first King of Castile who ever embarked on a maritime expedition.

† Compare Ayala, p. 220. Zurita, t. II, p. 271, verso.

‡ Ayala, p. 217.

demand the deposition of the commanders of Alcañiz and Montalvan, the punishment of the corsairs who had injured the commerce of the Andalucian cities, the extradition of the Castilian refugees in Aragon, and especially that of the Bishop of Siguenza and Peralonso Aljofrin, who, at the time of Don Fadrique's entrance into Toledo, had taken possession of the royal treasures: lastly, they were to require that Francisco Perellos should be delivered up to the King of Castile, to receive such chastisement as he should be pleased to inflict. On the other hand, if the Aragonese sovereign refused to satisfy these demands, the ambassadors had instructions to declare war against him, according to the established diplomatic formulary of the middle ages, to *defy* him.

Pedro IV., who was anxious to gain time, replied with moderation. He offered to place the commandery of Alcañiz at the disposal of the Master of Calatrava, as soon as he should be in a position to indemnify sufficiently the rightful claimant. With regard to the commandery of Montalvan, it was, he said, a matter pending before the Court of Avignon, and to the Sovereign Pontiff alone belonged the right of deciding between the Master and the knights; these latter, moreover, alleging with some show of reason that their election was regular, and conformable to the statutes of St. Jago, since it had taken place when Castile was still under the interdict which suspended the authority of the Masters. The King of Aragon seemed disposed to expel the Castilian refugees from his states, and even to deliver up Peralonso Aljofrin, according to the terms of the convention of Atienza, Peralonso having incurred

the penalty of treason by the seizure of his lord's treasure; but he refused to arrest the Bishop of Siguenza, on account of religious scruples, which, whether real or feigned, contrasted forcibly with the notorious impiety of Don Pedro. Finally, whilst expressing lively displeasure at the outrage committed by Perellos, he declared that, as king and feudal lord, he was the sole judge of his vassal; that he would examine into the matter, and if he found Perellos guilty, would subject him to such rigorous treatment, that the King of Castile should be perfectly satisfied.*

At this reply the Castilian envoys retired, though not without hinting that the King of Aragon's answer would not content their master. Pedro IV., however, to testify his desire for peace, publicly ordered Gonzalo Mexio and Gomez Carrillo, known friends of the Conde de Trastamara, and the most illustrious of the Castilian refugees, to quit the kingdom of Aragon immediately. He obliged them to set out at once for France; but, while affecting to treat them thus harshly, he secretly instructed them to enter into negociations with Don Enrique, and offered to receive that prince into his service.† Don Pedro was not a man to be easily satisfied: he replied by a second message still more imperious than the first. After having recapitu-

* Ayala, p. 219. Zurita, t. II, p. 270, and following.

† Arch. gen. de Aragon. Instructions to Mosen Francesch de Perellòs, (probably the same person as the admiral of that name), despatched by the King of Aragon to France. No date, but probably about the end of August, 1356. Register 1293 Secretorum, p. 38.

lated his complaints with greater haughtiness than ever, he wrote thus to the King of Aragon :—" Seek now another friend; I have ceased to be yours; and with my own arm will avenge the wrong that you have done my honour."* Hostilities had commenced simultaneously in different quarters even before this letter was received.

The possessions of the Kings of Aragon in Spain consisted of Aragon, properly so called; Catalonia, and the kingdom of Valencia; three provinces, which, although united under the same sceptre for a period sufficiently long to constitute a state politically homogeneous, were distinct from each other in government, manners, and language. The Aragonese territory borders upon Navarre, the two Castiles, and the kingdom of Murcia; but its frontiers are not clearly defined by nature. Its greatest extent is from north to south, the lofty chains of the Peninsular mountains traverse it from east to west; and its principal rivers, which fall into the Mediterranean, flow in the same direction. Three vast chains, parallel with each other, extend from Castile into Aragon. These are, commencing with the north, the Sierra de Moncayo, that of Molina or Albarracin, and the Sierra de Albacete. They may be regarded as so many natural barriers to Aragon and Castile; but between these barriers lie deep valleys divided only by an imaginary line, and forming broad highways, which are available both to Castilian and Aragonese for the purposes either of war or of commerce. In the fourteenth century, these vast outlets were defended

* Zurita, t. II, p. 271. Memoirs of Pedro IV., in Carbonell.—*Cronicas de España*, p. 183, verso.

upon the Aragonese side by Tarazona, a town situate to the north of the mountains of Moncayo, and bordering both upon Castile and Navarre; to the south of these mountains, Calatayud and Daroca served as a bulwark to Lower Aragon; whilst between the chain of Molina and Albacete, the kingdom of Valencia, its wide frontier almost entirely open to incursions, presented scarcely any place of importance, except its capital and the fortress of Murviedro. The southern extremity of this kingdom, isolated by the mountains of Albacete, was guarded by three strongholds, then considered almost impregnable—Alicante, Orihuela, and Guardamar. At the time when the war broke out, they were occupied by Castilian garrisons, or by vassals of the Infante Don Fernando de Aragon, to whom they belonged as his apanage.

On the side of Castile, a similar line of fortified cities defended the intermediate space between the three chains of mountains. To the north, upon the extreme frontier, and opposite to Tarazona, rose Agreda. Then, descending to the south, stood Almazan and Soria, built in the angle formed by the Sierra of Moncayo. Medina-Celi and Molina appeared between this chain and the hills of Albarracin; Requena upon the western boundary of the kingdom of Valencia; and, lastly, to the south of the Sierra of Albacete, Murcia and the cities belonging to the Infante.

I here mention only the principal fortified towns on either side, those which might serve as a groundwork for great military operations, passing over a multitude of castles, more or less strongly fortified,

which guarded this wide frontier from north to south.

Each of the Castilian towns which I have just enumerated had either a garrison or a militia attached to it, sufficiently numerous and well practised in arms to make incursions into its immediate neighbourhood. Diego de Padilla, with the knights of Calatrava and the Murcian flag, entered the kingdom of Valencia* at the same time that the militia of New Castile, advancing from Requena, emerged from the other side of the mountains of Albacete. In the north, Gutier Fernandez, leaving Molina, marched upon Daroca, and Calatayud,† laying waste the country through which he passed with fire and sword. The undisciplined Castilian bands, hastily called to arms by their lords, ravaged the enemy's territory with that bitter animosity which is invariably found to exist between the inhabitants of frontier towns, and their foreign neighbours. The King of Aragon, surprised by this sudden attack, hastened to assume the defensive. His first care was to repair the fortifications of Valencia, and to place therein a considerable garrison; he summoned his nobles to arms, and even demanded the assistance of his foreign vassals, the Comte de Foix, and the Infante Luis de Navarre. The inroads of the Castilians were speedily avenged by similar devastating forays. Throughout the whole

* He laid waste the environs of Castalla and Homil, but was unable to take those towns through want of machines.—Cascales, "Hist. de Murcia," p. 121.

† He was repulsed and defeated by the Conde de Luna.—Ayala, p. 221.

frontier, nothing was to be seen but conflagrations and rapine. Woe to those hamlets and towns which were destitute of walls! The warriors of the middle ages left only ashes to mark their track.

II.

The Castilian nobles who had been expelled from Aragon, or rather despatched to Don Enrique, found him already in the pay of the King of France, and on the point of leaving Paris to join that immense army which was shortly afterwards to be destroyed on the plains of Poitou. The King of Aragon's proposals at once changed the plans of the Conde, who willingly renounced the character of a captain of a Free Company, to become the leader of the Castilian malcontents. Unhesitatingly accepting the conditions offered him, he quitted France, and soon appeared upon the theatre of war with a numerous company of exiles, who were attached to his person. By the terms of the treaty which he concluded at Pina with Pedro IV., upon his entrance into Aragon,* he did homage to the Aragonese monarch, and engaged to serve him faithfully as his natural lord. He was, in return, to be invested with all the domains belonging to the Infantes of Aragon, who were at present in the service of the King of Castile, excepting the seignory of Albarracin, which Pedro IV. expressly reserved for himself. Besides these immense possessions, which, however, must first be conquered, Don

* Zurita, t. II, p. 273, and following. According to this author, the treaty of Pina is datedthe 8th of November, 1356.

Enrique obtained immediate possession of several castles in the king's dominions,* as well as the greater part of the confiscated lands formerly belonging to this prince's mother-in-law, Doña Leonor; yet with this express proviso, that *content* or *non-content*,† he was bound at all times to open them to his adopted suzerain, the King of Aragon. To these magnificent gifts was added an annuity of 130,000 Barcelonese pence,‡ besides the pay of six hundred men-at-arms, and as many genetours,§ which he was to have at his own command at the rate of seven pence a day each man for the first, and five pence a day for the second. Pedro IV. also engaged never to make peace, nor even to conclude a truce with the King of Castile, without the consent of the Conde de Trastamara. I ought not to forget an article of the treaty of Pina, which indicates clearly enough with what kind of arms the allies intended to fight. He stipulated that if Don Fadrique would enter the service of the King of Aragon, and do him homage, he should receive investiture of all the lands belonging to the order of Santiago, and dependent upon the

* In Catalonia, Montblanch, Tarrega, Villagrassa; in Aragon, Tamarit, Ricla, Epila; in the kingdom of Valencia, Castellon del Campo de Burriana, and Villareal.—"Memoirs of Pedro IV., in Carbonell," p. 184. It appears that the inhabitants of Castellon and Villareal for a long time refused to recognize Don Enrique for their lord, notwithstanding the repeated injunctions of the King of Aragon.—*Arch. gen. de Aragon*, register 1543, p. 36, and following.

† Pagado ò irado.

‡ 68,833 reals, about £700 sterling.

§ Cavalls armats e cavalls alforrats. The former were encased in steel, the latter in leather or quilted cloth.

Aragonese crown.* It is impossible to know whether this clause was introduced with or without the knowledge of Don Fadrique, but there is every reason to believe that the intercourse between the two brothers had never been entirely suspended. Be this as it may, presuming that Don Pedro ever became acquainted with this article, it would naturally tend to increase his distrust and suspicion of the Grand Master of Santiago, who, as he believed, maintained a correspondence with his enemies.

Whilst Pedro of Aragon was winning over the Castilian emigrants to his service, the fidelity of his own subjects was put to the test. Towards the close of

* In my account of the treaty of Pina I have followed Zurita. I was unable to find the original in the archives of Aragon, but only a new convention, reciting that of Pina, and dated from Zaragoza, the 20th of January, 1357. According to a third treaty, dated from Zaragoza, the 30th of August, 1357, the pay of the men-at-arms is estimated at eight sous, and that of the genetours at six. In time of peace, the Conde de Trastamara might keep four hundred men-at-arms at the king's cost, at the rate of three sous and a half. The King of Aragon adds, that in case his treasurer should refuse the promised subsidies to the Conde, he engaged to pay them out of his private purse, a fortnight after the first demand. We ought to remark that in this last treaty of Zaragoza, no allusion is made to Don Fadrique or to the property of the Infantes of Aragon, which had been given to the Conde de Trastamara. We may conjecture that at this period (August, 1357) the king was secretly in treaty with those princes.—"Arch. gen. de Aragon." Segona Caixa, n. 20. In 1356, Don Enrique had not yet been able to collect the stipulated number of men. He had, according to the Memoirs of Pedro IV., only three hundred men-at-arms, and as many genetours.—Carbonell, p. 184.

1356, Don Pedro despatched into the kingdom of Valencia, the Infante Don Fernando, who had just *denaturalized* himself, that is, solemnly renounced the homage which he owed to the King of Aragon as his natural lord.* Don Pedro hoped that the Infante would rally around him the remaining Confederates of the Union. But the times were greatly altered. Those violent passions which had agitated the country nine years ago were now totally subdued. The Infante was forgotten, as well as the Union. Not a single city declared for him, not one cavallero joined his standard. He was forced, after a few petty skirmishes, to retire ignominiously into Murcia, in sight of the troops commanded by Don Pedro de Exerica and the Conde de Denia. It seemed as though his invasion of the kingdom of Valencia had only served to prove the fidelity of the people he thought to corrupt. Alicante, the strongest of his towns, drove away the Castilian garrison, which had occupied it ever since its cession to Don Pedro by the Infante; and the Aragonese immediately hastened to strengthen its fortifications, and to protect it from further insult.†

The war, which until then had presented only a series of rapid incursions, or rather of forays, seemed in the commencement of the year 1357 to assume a new character. Both parties had employed the winter in making great preparations. Don Pedro, who wanted money, had had recourse to the merchants of Seville, who made him considerable advances. He scrupled not

* Cascales, Hist. de Murcia, p. 121.

† Zurita, t. II, p. 275. Cascales, Hist. de Murcia, p. 122.

to augment his resources by appropriating to his own use the costly ornaments which decorated the tombs of San Fernando, his queen Beatriz, and their son Don Alfonso X.* These ornaments, the value of which consisted more in the rare beauty of the workmanship than in their intrinsic worth, were allowed to disappear, without the clergy daring to object to their removal, the king declaring that he did not like to leave so great temptation in the way of dishonest men, the church being indifferently guarded. Such was the frivolous pretext for an act of sacrilege, which all lovers of the arts deplore to this day.

About the same period, namely, at the commencement of January, 1357, Queen Maria, mother of Don Pedro, died at Evora, after an illness of short duration. We have seen that she quitted Castile soon after the taking of Toro, and had sought refuge in Portugal. She lived there some time, apparently a stranger to all political intrigues, more occupied, as it appears, in providing Martin Telho with a succession than in disputing the authority of her son. According to public report her days were shortened by poison.† Modern writers have accused Don Pedro of having punished by a matricidal act the partiality the queen had evinced for the cause of the leaguers. I consider it unnecessary to vindicate him against an accusation which rests upon no foundation, and which is not confirmed by any contemporaneous testimony. Queen Maria was too universally despised to serve as a rallying cry to the

* Zuñiga, An. ecl. II, 142. *See* Appendix for a description of the tombs.

† Ayala, p. 226.

factions which divided Castile. She was known to be incapable of playing a political part; and it was chance alone which had for an instant placed the destinies of the kingdom in her hands, when during her son's absence she delivered up Toro to the Confederates. It must be from a determination to impute the most atrocious actions to Don Pedro that crimes so perfectly useless are laid to his charge. If Queen Maria's death were not natural, the most trustworthy authors have thrown the responsibility of it upon her father, the King of Portugal, who, they say, was irritated by the scandal her fresh intrigues had caused. Ayala, when relating the fact as accredited in his time, neither pities the victim, nor blames her executioner. In avenging the dishonour of his house, Alfonso of Portugal acted as king and father in perfect conformity with the law; and indeed, according to the opinions prevalent in the middle ages, scarcely did more than strict duty required.*

It was still winter when Don Pedro quitted Seville to take the command of his troops at Molina, whither he had summoned them from all parts. But before he set foot upon a hostile territory, a fresh defection took place, which disturbed or interrupted his schemes of conquest. During his stay at Seville, the king had appeared struck by the extraordinary beauty of Doña Aldonza, daughter of the famous Alonso Coronel, and wife of Don Alvar Perez de Guzman. The attentions of a king of three-and-twenty years of age, the violence of whose passions were well known, might reasonably alarm the husband of Doña Al-

* Ayala, loc. cit. Apologia del Rey Don Pedro, p. 180.

donza. They caused hardly less uneasiness to the relations of Maria de Padilla, whose warlike counsels, as I have already mentioned, have been attributed to their desire to remove the king from Seville. War being declared, Don Alvar received orders to set out for the Aragonese frontier with his brother-in-law, Don Juan de la Cerda: he was to command a small body of troops stationed at Seron. While there, reports injurious to his honour, came to his knowledge and filled him with indignation and despair. The two brothers-in-law, persuaded that the king would take advantage of their absence to commit some act of violence, hastily quitted the post confided to their care. Don Alvar, having sent for his wife, crossed the frontier, and offered his services to the Aragonese monarch, whilst Don Juan de la Cerda boldly threw himself into the castle of Gibraleon, of which he had received the investiture by the secret treaty concluded at Toro between the leaguers and the imprisoned king. As master of this fortress and heir to the lands and clanship of Alonso Coronel, he hoped to create a powerful diversion, and even to excite civil war in the heart of Andalucia.* The king upon hearing of these movements, for some time hesitated as to the course he should take. Once he was on the point of returning to Seville; but very soon better informed as to the disposition which had been manifested by the Ricos Hombres and the Commons upon hearing of this new revolt, he determined to pursue his original intention and to advance into Aragon.

* Ayala, p. 224, 234.

III.

Meanwhile Cardinal Guillen, who had hastened to the theatre of war, charged by the Holy See to interpose between the two rival princes, had taken advantage of the first impression the rebellion of La Cerda had produced upon Don Pedro, to obtain a fortnight's truce. This had been signed at Deza, and the cardinal employed the interim in negociations, offering himself as arbiter between the two kings, and conjuring them to refer their quarrel to the decision of the Sovereign Pontiff. The truce had not yet expired, when Don Pedro, reassured as to the condition of Andalucia, abruptly crossed the frontier, and advanced towards Tarazona, a city at that period wealthy, but indifferently fortified. As soon as he was within sight of the walls of the town, he ordered the knights of Santiago, under the command of their Master, Don Fadrique, to commence the assault upon the Moorish quarter, where the walls were lower than elsewhere. After a short but sanguinary contest, they forced their way into the city. But a part of the garrison succeeded in reaching another quarter of the town called the Azuda, which being surrounded by ramparts, formed an almost distinct city, possessing its separate feudal lord, Guillelmo de Lorriz, counsellor of the King of Aragon and governor of Valencia. He was absent at the time, and his wife trembling in her donjon, had neither the energy, nor the power necessary to prolong resistance. Night interrupted the attack. The next morning the inhabi-

tants of the Azuda surrendered by a capitulation, the terms of which deserve notice, as they show what were the rules of war at that period. It was agreed that all the inhabitants of Tarazona should quit the town, taking with them whatever they could carry upon their shoulders; the conqueror granting them a safe conduct and an escort as far as Tudela in Navarre, a distance of four leagues. The houses, with their furniture and contents were to belong to the King of Castile.* Thus, in Spain, during the fourteenth century, war was carried on between Christians in precisely the same manner as at the period of the expulsion of the Arabs, or as in Italy, during the early days of Rome. The inhabitants of a town were driven from their dwellings, and the land was divided amongst the soldiers of the victorious army, on condition of their cultivating and defending it.

Don Pedro, now master of Tarazona, quickly besieged and took several unimportant places in the immediate vicinity. He found in the castle of Los Fayos that same Martin Abarca, whom he had spared at the taking of Toro; it would have been useless to implore Don Pedro's clemency a second time, and Abarca was forthwith put to death. The king's successes and the partition of the territory of Tarazona excited a general feeling of enthusiasm throughout Castile; all the nobility, whether faithful vassals or repentant leaguers, flocked

* Compare Ayala, p. 237. Zurita, t. II, 279. "The King of Aragon, in his memoirs, accuses Miguel de Gurrea, the Governor of Taragona, of having surrendered the town to the Castilians *par grand malice.*"—Carbonell, p. 185.

to the royal banners. The Infante Don Juan de Aragon and Don Fernando de Castro, who were now at mortal feud with the bastards, brought him numerous reinforcements. Don Tello himself at last determined to leave Biscay, and arrived in the king's camp with his vassals and some light infantry. Foreigners came and offered their services. The Sire d'Albret, learning that his private enemy, the Comte de Foix, was in the pay of the King of Aragon, crossed the Pyrenees and placed himself at the command of Don Pedro with a troop of men-at-arms, trained during their campaigns in France.*

War was then a lucrative trade, and frequently the means of acquiring large fortunes. The Rico Hombre hoped to gain thereby lands and castles; the simple esquire reckoned that his good lance would win from the knights he should capture, many a rich ransom, many a costly suit of armour, many a gallant charger. All looked forward to the sacking of defenceless towns. A few days after the capture of Tarazona, Don Pedro found himself at the head of seven thousand men-at-arms, and two thousand genetours, independent of infantry; a body then too lightly esteemed for the authors of the middle ages to take the trouble to report their number.† The Aragonese were greatly inferior in force, even after the arrival of Don Enrique's knights, and their auxiliaries from beyond the mountains; animated however by their king's presence, they

* He was a vassal of the King of England. His name is frequently cited by Froissart.

† Ayala, p. 229.

boldly advanced to Borja, which was only four leagues from the main body of the enemy. Don Pedro, full of confidence, immediately offered battle, but the King of Aragon was too prudent to accept the challenge, and remained immoveable at the foot of the ramparts of Borja, satisfied with covering that important place, and preventing the Castilian from besieging it. Stratagem at that period was unknown. A general imagined that he had done enough for fame when he had offered battle, not suspecting that by means of manœuvres he might oblige his adversary to fight. During several hours the two armies confronted each other, calmly witnessing a series of unimportant skirmishes which were soon terminated by the excessive heat. Several soldiers on both sides died from thirst or from a *coup de soleil.** As soon as it was evident that the Aragonese would not venture into the open plain, and that the Castilians would not attack them while sheltered by the ramparts of Borja, a retreat was sounded, and the two kings considered the campaign ended. Don Pedro returned to Tarazona and Pedro IV. to Zaragoza. This was leaving the field in the possession of the legate, who now renewed his efforts to procure peace with greater energy than ever.

* Ayala, p. 229. "Pedro IV. pretends that he offered battle, and that the king of Castile refused it."—Carbonell, p. 185. According to Zurita, t. II, p. 280, the interference of Cardinal Guillen prevented an engagement. The numerical superiority of the Castilians, the defensive position of the Aragonese, and the retreat of Pedro IV. upon Zaragoza, have appeared to me to confirm Ayala's version, which I have followed.

IV.

Whether the pride of Don Pedro had been soothed by the success of this short expedition, or whether, as may be presumed, his distrust made him suspect the existence of dangers in the interior of his kingdom, which were unknown to others, he appeared now to accept readily the mediation of the Holy See, and following the example of the King of Aragon, was eager to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat for peace. A neutral town, Tudela, in Navarre, was fixed upon for the conferences, over which the cardinal legate was to preside. Castile was represented by Juan de Hinestrosa, Juan de Benavides, and Iñigo Lopez de Orozco; Aragon, by Bernal de Cabrera, Pedro de Exerica, and Alvar Garcia de Albornoz.* The last mentioned Castilian subject had doubtless been chosen to uphold the interests of the Conde de Trastamara, and the other exiles.

On the 10th of March, 1357, they met according to an ancient custom, under an elm outside the gates of Tudela.† The cardinal, who above all things wished to avoid the shedding of blood, insisted that a truce should be established between the two belligerent powers, of a sufficiently long duration to enable him by negociations to overcome the numerous difficulties, which he foresaw would arise. It must be recollected, that each of the two kings had allies compromised in

* Zurita, t. II, p. 280.

† The deputies of the Basque Confederation assemble even to this day at Guernica in the open air, under a poplar.

his quarrel; powerful vassals whose various pretensions he was bound to uphold. The King of Aragon was engaged to Don Enrique, by the treaties of Pina and Zaragoza, both which prohibited him from treating with the King of Castile, without Enrique's consent; on the other hand, Don Pedro had to consider the interests of the Queen-Dowager of Aragon, his aunt, the two Infantes, his cousins, and lastly, the proscribed Aragonese, who had placed themselves under his protection.

After much debate, it was stipulated that the King of Castile should raise the sequestration, which had been laid upon the domains of Don Enrique and his adherents, and that he should grant an amnesty to all the emigrants, his subjects, except those who, during the preceding reign, had incurred sentence of high treason. The King of Aragon, on his side, was to restore to his mother-in-law, Doña Leonor, and the children of that princess, with their partisans, the lands of which he had taken possession, and moreover to proclaim an amnesty with reservations analogous to those contained in the one Don Pedro had promised. In all disputes with members of their respective families, the two kings were to have recourse to the arbitration of the legate.

It was likewise agreed that within a month, the legate should have placed at his disposal, those towns the possession of which was contested by the Kings of Castile and Aragon; namely, Tarazona on the one side, and Alicante, with a few castles upon the frontier of Murcia on the other. The plenipotentiaries were to produce the titles of their masters, and assert their rights, some-

time between the day when the treaty was signed and Christmas. This term being passed, and no amicable agreement yet concluded, as a last resource, the legate was to decide between the parties. A fresh delay of six months was to be allowed him to prepare his sentence. His judgment being delivered, even supposing that the two kings did not ratify it, hostilities were nevertheless to be suspended, until after the lapse of a year.

Thus the truce must last rather more than two years. To these articles were added penal clauses against any infraction of the truce; these were first excommunication and interdict, then a penalty of one hundred thousand silver marks, half of which was to be paid to the Apostolic Court, and half to the party who should remain faithful to the aforesaid terms of agreement.*

Notwithstanding the apparent fairness of these stipulations, the truce was in reality disadvantageous to the King of Castile, as it forced him to pause in the midst of his successes, at the head of a numerous army, and when already firmly established in the enemy's country. Besides, he was no longer desirous of a reconciliation with his brother, whilst the King of Aragon, as was loudly reported, in treating with the Infantes, carried on openly, and for the same object, those negociations which had been begun in secret. Without disavowing the conduct of his plenipotentiaries, Don Pedro would not ratify the convention, which they had signed. He contended that Tarazona ought

* Archivo gen. de Aragon, reg. 1394. Pacium et Treugarum, p. 1, and following.

to belong to him by right of conquest, and that there was no parity between his claims upon that place, and those which the King of Aragon advanced upon Alicante. With a subtlety worthy of the age, he argued that Tarazona, although attacked during the truce of the preceding fortnight, had been taken after the expiration of that same truce, and therefore lawfully won.* Furthermore, to prove that his decision upon this point was irrevocable, he nominated Juan de Hinestrosa governor of the city, and charged him to establish there a kind of military colony. The territory and houses of Tarazona were divided between three hundred Castilian knights.†

As may be conceived, the legate loudly complained of this breach of faith. After three months of useless protestations, having exhausted both threats and entreaties, he hurled a sentence of excommunication against Don Pedro, and laid his kingdom under an interdict.‡ But Don Pedro was proof against the thunders of the Holy See; he knew his own power, and his subjects had learned to fear his anger more than apostolical censures. In fact, no alarming symptom, no questioning of his authority, followed the sentence of the legate. Only in one point was the convention of Tudela respected, hostilities remained suspended.

But the King of Aragon took advantage of this respite to excite new enemies against Don Pedro, and

* Ayala, p. 228. Cascales, Hist. de Murcia, p. 122.

† Ayala, 232.

‡ Arch. gen. de Aragon, reg. 1394, Pac. et Treng., p. 14. The sentence of excommunication is dated from Tudela, 26th of June, 1357.

to recruit auxiliaries even in his camp. For several months, Pedro IV. had maintained a secret correspondence with his brother, the Infante of Aragon, and that prince, always excitable and inconstant, allowed himself to be won over by promises. In the month of December 1357, Don Fernando suddenly appeared in the kingdom of Valencia, and after having solemnly denaturalized himself for the second time, by performing one of those farces then so prevalent, he restored to the Aragonese monarch Orihuela, and the other castles which he possessed in that province, and for which he had already done homage to the King of Castile.* He was immediately nominated Lieutenant-General of Aragon, and having armed his Aragonese vassals, joined to them a considerable body of Castilians devoted to his person. By a treaty of peace and reconciliation, signed at Cañada del Pozuelo, the 7th day of December, 1357, Pedro IV. engaged to reinstate him in all his domains, to pay those Castilians whom he could attach to his service, and finally to make neither peace nor truce with Don Pedro without his consent.† This last condition became, as is evident, a common formula in all treaties concluded with deserters. The Infante Don Juan, who had for some time been at enmity with his brother, and also with the bastards, on account of his pretensions to the Lordship of Biscay, still remained with Don Pedro, apparently treated with favour, but in reality an object of suspicion and aversion to all parties.

* Zurita, p. 284, and following. Hist. de Murcia, p. 124. Carbonell, p. 185.

† Arch. gen. de Aragon, autografos. Segona Caixa.

About the same time, the Condessa de Trastamara, who had been detained a prisoner ever since the taking of Toro, managed to escape and reach Aragon. Gomez Carrillo, major-domo to Don Enrique, had shortly after the proclamation of the treaty of Tudela, addressed to the King of Castile offers of submission, which were accepted. He returned to court, was well received, and even obtained investiture of the town of Tamariz, acknowledging the king to be his liege lord. But his defection was feigned, and had no other object than that of gaining access to the Condessa de Trastamara. Whilst affecting great zeal for his new master, he was secretly plotting the flight of the captive, whom he had found means to apprize of his real intentions. As soon as a favourable opportunity occurred, he disappeared with the Condessa, thus depriving the king of the most important of his hostages, and the one moreover most compromised, since the recent alliance between Don Enrique and Pedro IV.*

V.

The recital of events succeeding Don Pedro's expedition into Aragon, has prevented my relating, in order of date, those which were taking place at the same time in Andalucia. We left this province distracted by the insurrection of Juan de la Cerda. The king had rightly judged the condition of the country, when he left it to oppose by its own force, the attempted rising on the part of that audacious chieftain. La Cerda, after

* Ayala, p. 232.

ravaging the environs of Gibraleon, his head-quarters, gave battle to the militia of Seville, aided by the men-at-arms of Perez Ponce, Lord of Marchena, those of the Genoese Gil de Boccanegra, Admiral of Castile, and of several Andalucian Ricos Hombres. The rebels were cut to pieces, and their chief led a prisoner to Seville, and confined in the Torre del Oro. On announcing this victory to Don Pedro, the king was requested to make known his pleasure, as to what should be done with the prisoner. The answer was not delayed. A ballestero of the guard immediately set out for Tarazona from Seville, with orders that Juan de la Cerda should be delivered up to him, and put to death. About the same time, his wife, Doña Maria Coronel, a young and noble lady, as celebrated for her virtue as for her rare beauty, hastened from Seville to the camp of the king, and throwing herself at his feet, besought pardon for the traitor. Don Pedro, moved by her tears, granted her letters of pardon, although uncertain whether they would be of any avail. The unhappy woman, though travelling with all possible haste, did not reach Seville until eight days after her husband's execution.*

The king was accused of having granted the rebel's pardon, only because he knew that it was too late to prevent his death. In my opinion, this supposition is unjust. The condemnation of Juan de la Cerda was perhaps a harsh, but most assuredly a legal sentence. How could a rebel, taken in arms a second time, hope

* Ayala, p. 230.

for pardon from the prince who had loaded him with favours? He could not excuse his revolt by pleading jealousy, the pretext which had caused the defection of his brother-in-law, Don Alvar de Guzman. The sentence of death had gone forth, the king beheld the unhappy Doña Maria at his feet, and had not the heart to resist her entreaties. Moreover, contradictory orders having been given nearly at the same time, the prisoner's fate depended in some measure upon chance, for his ballestero being a few hours in advance, the king could not prevent the advantage thus gained over Doña Maria Coronel. At least a few days of hope were granted the supplicant, and it is decidedly unfair to construe what was manifestly prompted by an impulse of compassion, into a refinement of cruelty. Doña Maria, a widow at twenty, retired into the convent of Santa Clara in Seville, where she took the veil. She left Santa Clara in 1374 to found the monastery of Santa Inez in the same city, where she died in the odour of sanctity.

Popular tradition in Spain, and especially in Andalucia, has preserved the name of Maria Coronel, and associated it in many a tragic romance with that of Don Pedro. By one of those errors so usual in heroic legends, which, transmitted from mouth to mouth, are continually embellished by romantic additions, this Doña Maria, widow of Don Juan de la Cerda, has been confounded with her sister Aldonza Coronel, wife of Alvar Perez de Guzman. According to a legend, which the inhabitants of Seville now receive as history, Doña Maria, chaste as fair, indignantly repulsed Don Pedro's addresses. Vainly did she oppose the grating

of the convent of Santa Clara, as a bulwark against the impetuous passion of the tyrant. Warned that his satellites had resolved to tear her from the altar, she caused a large hole to be hastily dug in the convent garden, in which she lay down, directing the sisters to cover her with branches and mould. But the fresh turned earth would have undoubtedly betrayed her, had not a miracle been worked most opportunely in her favour. Hardly had she descended into this species of tomb, than flowers and herbage sprung up over the grave, which could no longer be distinguished from the surrounding turf.

The king's passion, however, was only inflamed by obstacles. He suspected that the beautiful widow had defeated the vigilance of his creatures; he came himself to the convent of Santa Clara, in order to carry her off. This time it was not a miracle, but an heroic stratagem, which saved the youthful matron. Detesting that fatal beauty which had exposed her to such wanton insult, she resolutely seized a vase filled with burning oil, and threw it over her neck and face; then covered with horrible burns, she presented herself before the king, and frightened him away, by declaring herself tainted with leprosy. "The traces of the burning liquor," says Zuñiga, "may still be seen on her body, which has been miraculously preserved, and may well be accounted the body of a saint."* I have given this legend, which

* Zuñiga, Anales de Sevilla, t. II, p. 148. The people say that Maria Coronel, pursued by Don Pedro, in the suburb of Triana, plunged her head into a pan, in which a Gitana was frying fritters. The house has been pointed out to me before which the incident

is not mentioned by any contemporary author, at full length, in order to convey some idea of the process of transmutation which Don Pedro's history has undergone through tradition, and the poetical colours in which the lively imagination of the Spanish people have arrayed it. The simple historical fact follows in the wake of the marvellous tale.

Don Pedro, immediately after concluding the truce with Aragon, returned to Seville to hasten the construction and equipment of a powerful fleet. The insults of the Corsican pirates had made him feel acutely the inferiority of his navy, and his mind, ever occupied by bold and gigantic projects, aspired to the glory of achieving conquests upon that element where, till now, his enemy had ruled without a rival. He proposed carrying the war into the very centre of the Aragonese provinces, and besieging their capital, so soon as he should be allowed to recommence hostilities. At the same time he endeavoured to entice Prince Luis of Navarre into a coalition against Pedro IV., promising in return to *defy* the prince's enemy, the King of France, and to carry the war beyond the Pyrenees.* Amidst these preparations and negociations, namely, at the commencement of the year 1358, Doña Aldonza Coronel came to Seville, to implore, as her sister had done, the

took place, and, as an incontestable proof, I was requested to remark that this house is still inhabited by gipsies, who use the open street for their kitchen.

* The King of Navarre was then the King of France's prisoner. Prince Luis, Regent of Navarre, was at the same time solicited by the King of Aragon, and made promises he had no intention of fulfilling.—Zurita, t. II. p. 282, 284. Carbonell, p. 185.

pardon of her husband, Alvar de Guzman, then a refugee in Aragon.* At first she remained with Doña Maria, in the convent of Santa Clara, and for some time appeared insensible to the marks of favour lavished upon her by Don Pedro; but, vanquished at last, she voluntarily quitted the nunnery, and accepted apartments prepared for her by the king in the Torre del Oro, situate on the banks of the Guadalquivir. There she soon had an almost regal establishment, a kind of guard with knights, and esquires to defend her at her need; in a word, she became, to all appearance, the favourite mistress of the King of Castile. Ayala relates that Don Pedro, always a most munificent lover, had desired the Alguazil Mayor of Seville to obey, as his own, all commands given during his absence by Doña Aldonza, and transmitted by the cavalleros attached to her person; for, it seems, that the favourite was as invisible as an Oriental sultana. Maria de Padilla, however, still occupied the Alcazar, the royal palace in the same city; she, too, had her regal establishment, her court, and her guard of knights. Perhaps, in emulating the despotic rule of the Moorish princes Don Pedro had also imbibed their taste, for a plurality of mistresses whom he thus constituted rivals in pomp, and even in power. Whilst the old and new mistress, each in her strong castle, seemed to breathe defiance, the one against the other, the frequent absences of the king, whose love of the chase drew him from Seville, sometimes for several days together, afforded opportunities for bitter conflicts between these jealous women who then divided the court into two hostile camps.

*What must we think of the jealousy of Don Alvar, who sent his wife to ask a favour of a king passionately in love with her?

During one of these periods of absence, Juan de Hinestrosa came to Seville on his return from a mission into Portugal, bringing a promise from Alfonso IV. to co-operate with Don Pedro, and despatch a squadron to the expedition which was preparing against Aragon. The king, who was hunting in the neighbourhood of Carmona,* had just sent for Doña Aldonza. This mark of preference was immediately interpreted as the signal for the final disgrace of Maria de Padilla. Hinestrosa, her uncle, being considered as the head of her family, and hated by a great part of the court, the enemies of

* "Cresting an aromatic uncultivated tract," writes Mr. Ford, "the clean white town of Carmona rises on the eastern extremity of the ridge; it commands the plains both ways. The prefix, *car*, indicates 'this height.' The old coins found here are inscribed 'Carmo,' Florez, M. I. 289. Cæsar fortified the city, which remained faithful to the Goths, until betrayed to the Moors by the traitor, Julian: San Fernando recovered it September 21, 1247, and gave it for arms, a star with an orle of lions and castles, and the device, 'Sicut Lucifer lucet in Aurorâ, sic in Bœticâ Carmona.' Don Pedro added largely to this castle, which he made, as regarded Seville, what Edward III. did of Windsor in reference to London. Here he kept his jewels, money, mistresses and children."

"Perhaps," says Mr. Borrow, "in the whole of Spain there is scarcely a finer Moorish monument of antiquity than the eastern side of this town of Carmona, which occupies the brow of a lofty hill, and frowns over an extensive vega, or plain, which extends for leagues, unplanted and uncultivated, producing nothing but brushwood and carasco. Here rise tall and dusky walls, with square towers at short distances, of so massive a structure that they would seem to bid defiance alike to the tooth of time and the hand of man."—*Bible in Spain*, p. 94.

the Padillas, trusting in the ascendant star of Aldonza Coronel, doubtless thought to anticipate the secret wishes of her royal lover, by aiming the first blow at the minister, the relative of the fallen mistress. The governor of the Torre del Oro, perhaps the accomplice or instrument of a court intrigue, and most probably at the instigation of Aldonza, shewed the Alguazil Mayor the king's seal, and ordered him to have Juan de Hinestrosa arrested. The order was at once executed, and on the same day Diego de Padilla was likewise thrown into prison. When we see these two men, lately so powerful, fall from their high estate to a dungeon, without one voice being raised in their defence, and observe the blind obedience with which the most extraordinary orders issued in the king's name were executed, we can judge how much the Padillas were hated, and also how absolute and formidable Don Pedro had become in that kingdom, where, two years back, he had found none but rebels. But, if Maria de Padilla could not prevent her lover's infidelity, it was soon discovered that she alone possessed his confidence, and that it was dangerous to provoke this indulgent queen. The king, when informed by her of the arrest of Juan de Hinestrosa and his nephew, was fired with indignation. He hastened back to Maria de Padilla at Seville, and endeavoured to reassure her relatives by loading them with fresh honours. Doña Aldonza, who had been abruptly abandoned at Carmona, was soon obliged to go and hide her shame in the convent of Santa Clara, where, it is said, she spent the remainder of her life in penitence. It does not appear that the Alguazil mayor

felt the effect of the king's resentment. His fault was only an excess of obedience, and that is one which tyrants can easily forgive.*

* Ayala, p. 234. However strange this may seem, I have not hesitated to relate it upon the authority of Ayala, who was perhaps a witness of this palace intrigue. He was most probably then at Seville, whence we shall soon see him set out with the king's fleet. It is remarkable that Zuñiga has preserved strict silence as to this occurrence, although he has not failed to mention the popular romances connected with Maria Coronel. *See* "Anales de Sevilla," year 1358.

CHAPTER XI.

DON PEDRO'S REVENGE.

1358.

I.

THE inextinguishable hatred which Don Pedro bore towards the Ricos Hombres who had taken part in the League, was now joined to a restless suspicion of all who surrounded him, a feeling perhaps too well justified by his melancholy experience of the faithlessness of his subjects. The treaty concluded at Pina between the King of Ara on and Don Enrique, more especially the clause which anticipated, and in some manner presumed, the treason of Don Fadrique, could not long have remained unknown to him. On the other hand, the recent defection of the Infante Don Fernando, that of Gomez Carrillo, the rebellion of Don Juan de la Cerda and Alvar de Guzman, seemed to him so many evidences of a vast conspiracy directed against his authority, and perhaps his life, by enemies whom neither his favours could attach, nor his severity intimidate. For a short period during the last campaign with Aragon, he had seen Don Fadrique, Don Tello, and the Infante Don Juan united under his banner. It was said that since then he had conceived

the project of destroying all three;* but the near vicinity of the Aragonese army, and the large number of devoted vassals in the suite of the young princes, had obliged him to postpone the execution of his sinister designs. Besides, these men, whom he had so cordially detested, had just exhibited their zeal in his service. Don Fadrique had distinguished himself at the attack upon Tarazona in presence, however, of the knights of his order, between the fear of passing for a coward and the necessity of showing himself a loyal soldier, he could not avoid fighting, and thus his bravery appeared mere calculation, and served to pave the way for his defection. Don Tello had brought powerful reinforcements to the Castilian army; but his affectation of appearing surrounded only by his faithful Biscayans, and his insulting distrust, which he did not take the trouble to conceal, inspired the king with a conviction that some treasonable plots were in agitation, and he attributed the arrival of Don Tello upon the theatre of war rather to the desire of seizing a favourable opportunity to betray him than to a sincere attachment to his person. Besides, had not Don Tello recently caused the assassination of Juan de Avendaño, a secret emissary of Don Pedro's in Biscay? Had he not, as well as Don Fadrique, advised him to surrender Tarazona to the King of Aragon? How could the sons of Leonor de Guzman be expected to wage war with each other—how could they forget the murder of their mother—the massacre of their friends at Toro? In a word, whether his brothers were animated by

* Ayala, p. 231.

generous sentiments or actuated by a guilty ambition, Don Pedro could only view them as enemies. The bitter hatred he bore them himself, convinced him that he must have inspired them with a similar feeling.

He was, however, true to his maxims of dissimulation, and carefully concealed his suspicions from his brothers, Don Fadrique especially appearing in high favour. He was entrusted with a very important command upon the frontier of Murcia, and the king had empowered him to settle the differences pending between Castile and Aragon, upon the boundary question. On his side, Don Fadrique affected an entire devotion to his brother, and lost no opportunity of displaying it. The castle of Jumilla, situated upon the contested territory between the kingdoms of Murcia and Valencia, was occupied by an Aragonese Rico Hombre, who called himself its owner, whilst the Castilian plenipotentiaries contended on the other hand that this formed part of the domains of their master.* Don Fadrique, without awaiting the issue of the negociations which were carried on with considerable warmth on this subject, took Jumilla by an unexpected assault, and hung out the banner of Castile from its walls. Don Pedro was not deceived as to the motive which prompted the Master of Santiago to this act of hostility, and at once attributed it to the intrigues of the Conde de Trastamara, who was interested in breaking the truce. Moreover, Don Fadrique was surrounded by spies, and whilst

* Carbonell, p. 186. Arch. gen. de Ar. *See* several letters to Pedro IV. on the subject of his rights over this place, especially his consultation with the learned Doctor Eu Ramon Castellan, reg. 1394, p. 89, 31, and following.

apparently ready to make any sacrifice to please the king, it was discovered that he secretly corresponded with Don Enrique and the King of Aragon. Gonzalo Mexia, a commander of Santiago, was their emissary; and about the close of the year 1357, he set out for Cariñena charged with a private communication for the Master.* It was immediately after a conference with the commander that Don Fadrique had taken Jumilla. Don Pedro, who was still much irritated against the King of Aragon, and complained loudly of the legate's partiality, had resolved to break the truce and again take up arms; he wished, however, before engaging in a foreign war, to put an end to the civil dissensions at home.

In pursuance of this design, he made a confidant of Don Juan, Infante of Aragon, a weak and wicked prince, for whom he felt as much contempt as aversion, but whom he regarded as a convenient tool; moreover, it appeared to him the extreme refinement of policy to arm his enemies one against another. On the 29th of May, 1358, the king being apprised of the arrival of the Master of Santiago, whom he had just sent for from Seville, desired the Infante Don Juan, and Diego Perez Sarmiento, Adelantado of Castile, to visit him in his palace at an early hour in the morning. He, there, in

* *Vide* passport granted to Gonzalo Mexia by the King of Aragon to go on the part of the Conde de Trastamara, and confer with the Master of Santiago upon *certain matters*. The passport is available for two or three times, "iendo o viniendo por unas ò muitas vegadas del dito Conde al dito Maestre, et el dito Maestre al dito Conde. Cariñena, 28th of December, 1357." *Arch. gen. de Aragon*, 1543, p. 5, verso. *Vide* Appendix B.

his private cabinet, presented to them a crucifix and the Gospels, and made them swear to keep, as an inviolable secret, what he was about to disclose. Then, addressing the Infante, he spoke to him as follows;—"Cousin, you know, and I know also, that Don Fadrique, my brother, the Master of Santiago, bears no more good-will towards you than you do towards him. I have proofs that he has betrayed me, and to-day I mean to kill him. I ask your assistance, and by giving it, you will render me a service. As soon as Fadrique is dead I set off for Biscay, where I propose to treat Don Tello in a similar manner. I shall then give you his lands in Biscay and also those of Lara; for as you are married to Doña Isabel, daughter of Don Juan Nuñez de Lara, those noble domains naturally revert to you."* The Infante, without betraying surprise at this horrible frankness, and intent only upon securing the broad lands which he had so long coveted, eagerly replied, "Sire, I feel grateful for your confidence in thus revealing to me your secret designs. It is true, that I hate the Master of Santiago and his brothers. They also detest me on account of the love I bear to you. I am therefore pleased to hear that you have resolved to rid

* "Primo yo sé bien é vos asi lo sabedes, que el Maestre de Santiago, Don Fadrique mi hermano, vos quiere grand mal, é asi facedes vos a él é yo por algunas cosas en que sé que él anda contra mi servicio; quierole matar hoy; é ruego vos que me ayudedes á ello, é en esto me fazedes grand servicio. E luego que él sea muerto, yo entendiendo partir de aqui para Vizcaya á matar á Don Tello, é darvos he las tierras de Vizcaya é de Lara, pues vos sodes casado en Doña Isabel, fija de Don Juan Nuñez de Lara é de Doña Maria su muger á quien las dichas tierras pertenescen." *Cronica del Rey Don Pedro*, p. 237.

yourself of the Master. If you desire it, I will myself slay him."* "Cousin," returned the king, "I thank you, and pray you to do as you say."† Perez Sarmiento, indignant at the Infante's baseness, interrupted him in a tone of reproof. "My lord," said he to Don Juan, "you may rejoice that our lord, the king, is about to perform an act of justice; but do you think that he has not ballesteros sufficient to despatch the Master?"‡ These words were displeasing to Don Pedro, and he never forgave them.

A few hours after this conversation, Don Fadrique entered Seville from Jumilla. It is said, that while outside the gates, a monk, perhaps secretly commissioned by Sarmiento, warned him, in mysterious language, that a great danger threatened him; the Master, however, either did not heed his words, or did not comprehend their import.§ He passed quickly through the city, and entered the Alcazar with a numerous company of knights of his order, and gentlemen of his house. He found

* "Señor yo vos tengo en merced porque vos queredes fiar de mi vuestros secretos. E es verdad, Señor, que yo quiero muy mal al Maestre de Santiago é al Conde, Don Enrique su hermano; é ellos quieren mal á mi por vuestro servicio. Por ende yo soy muy placentero de lo que vos tenedes ordenado de matar hoy al Maestre; é si la vuestra merced fuere, aun yo mesmo le mataré."

† "Infante primo, yo vos agradezco lo que me decide, é vos que ruego que lo fagades asi."

‡ "Señor, plegavos de lo que el rey ficiere; ca non menguaran Ballesteros que mataen al Maestre."—*Cronica del Rey Don Pedro*, p. 238.

§ Romances sobre el Rey Don Pedro. Rades, Hist. del Ord. de Santiago, p. 48. Hist. de Murcia, p. 123. Ayala does not mention this incident. *See* Appendix, C.

the king playing at draughts with one of his courtiers. Don Pedro, who had long since become an adept in dissimulation, received Don Fadrique with an air of frankness, and, with a smile upon his countenance, presented him his hand to kiss; then, discontinuing his game, he asked Don Fadrique where he had last halted, and whether he was satisfied with his quarters in Seville. The Master replied, that he had just ridden a distance of five leagues, and, in his eagerness to pay his homage to the king, had not yet sought a place of residence. "Well," said Don Pedro, who saw that Don Fadrique was attended by a numerous escort, "first seek out your lodgings, and then return to me." And, after having bade him farewell, he resumed his game. On quitting the king, Don Fadrique visited Maria de Padilla, who, with her daughters, occupied an apartment in the Alcazar. It was a kind of harem, fitted up after the Eastern fashion. He now dismissed his knights, and entered the apartment, accompanied only by Diego de Padilla, the Master of Calatrava, who, being unacquainted with the king's plot, had come to meet him, by way of showing honour to his colleague.

The gentle and kind-hearted favourite received Don Fadrique with tears in her eyes, and betrayed so much sorrow on seeing him, that he was slightly surprised, although far from suspecting the cause of the extraordinary emotion his presence excited. She only, besides the Infante and Perez Sarmiento, was privy to the king's intentions,* and had vainly endeavoured to change

* "E Doña Maria sabia todo lo que estaba acordado contra el Maestre, é quando le vió fizo tan triste cara, que todos lo podrian

them. After having embraced Maria's children, whom he called his nieces, the Master of Santiago descended into the court-yard of the Alcazar, where he expected to find his people; but the porters had received orders to oblige them to leave the court, and to close the gates. Imagining that this arrangement did not concern him, he called for his mule, upon which one of his cavalleros, named Suero Gutierrez, remarking an unusual stir throughout the castle, approached him; "My lord," he said, "the postern gate is open; leave the court. Once out of the Alcazar, you will find your mules."* Whilst he was still urging him to depart, two knights of the palace came up, and informed Don Fadrique that the king had summoned him. He at once obeyed, and went towards the chamber of the king, who at that time occupied one of the buildings within the inclosure of the Alcazar, and which was called the palace of iron.† At the entrance stood Pero Lopez de Padilla, chief of the ballesteros of the guard, with four of his men. Don Fadrique, still accompanied by the Master of Calatrava, knocked at the door. One alone of its panels opened, and discovered the king, who immediately cried out, "Pero Lopez,

entender; ca ella era Duéña muy buena é de buen seso; é non se pagaba de las cosas que el Rey facia, é pesabale mucho de la muerte que era ordenada de dar al Maestre."—*Cronica del Rey Don Pedro*, p. 239.

* Señor, el postigo del corral está abierto: salid de fuera, que non vos menguarán mulas.

† Or of stucco. The manuscripts offer this variation: *hierro*, or *yeso*.

arrest the Master!"* "Which of the two, Sire?"† demanded the officer, hesitating between Don Fadrique and Don Diego de Padilla. "The Master of Santiago,"‡ returned the king, in a voice of thunder. Immediately Pero Lopez, seizing Don Fadrique by the arm, said, "You are my prisoner."§ Don Fadrique, astounded, offered no resistance. Then the king cried out, "Ballesteros, slay the Master of Santiago!"‖ For one moment, surprise and respect for the red cross of Saint James rooted the men to the spot: then one of the cavalleros of the palace, advancing through the door, cried, "Traitors, what are you about? Did you not hear the king command you to kill the master?"¶ The ballesteros raised their maces, when Don Fadrique, vigorously throwing off the grasp of Pero Lopez, rushed into the court, and endeavoured to defend himself; but the hilt of his sword, which he carried under the large cloak of his order, had got entangled in his belt, and he could not draw the blade. He ran up and down the court-yard, pursued by the ballesteros, avoiding their blows, but still unable to unsheath his sword. At last one of the king's guards, named Nuño Fernandez, felled Don Fadrique to the ground with a blow of his mace. His three companions followed up their com-

* Pero Lopez, prended al Maestre.

† A qual dellos prendére?

‡ Al Maestre de Santiago.

§ Sed preso.

‖ Ballesteros, matad al Maestre de Santiago!

¶ Traydores qué facedes? non vedes que vos manda el Rey que matedes al Maestre?

rade's advantage. The Master was lying stretched upon the ground, bathed in his blood, when Don Pedro descended into the court, seeking certain knights of Santiago, whom he had resolved should perish with their chief; but, as has been seen, whilst Don Fadrique was visiting Maria de Padilla, the porters had cleared the court of all his attendants. None remained but the Master's principal esquire, Sancho Ruiz de Villegas, who, on perceiving the king, rushed into the chamber of Maria de Padilla, and seized hold of her eldest daughter,* in order to make her his shield against the assassins. Don Pedro, who followed him, poniard in hand, snatched the child from him, and struck the first blow; after which, one of his courtiers, a private enemy of Sancho de Villegas, finished him upon the spot. Leaving his mistress's chamber inundated with blood, the king again descended into the court, and approached the Master, whom he found lying upon the earth, motionless, but still breathing. He drew his poniard, and gave it to an African slave,† bidding him despatch

* Doña Beatriz.

† "Un Moro de su cámara." Ayala. Señor de Llaguno has preferred the reading *mozo de su cámara*, a page of his chamber, as written in some manuscripts. But the "Abridgment" and some of the best copies give *Moro*. It seems to me probable enough that Don Pedro, like all despots, loved to have foreign servants about him. Later, we shall see that he gave the command of the ballesteros to a Georgian. Notwithstanding the circumstantial details which Ayala gives concerning this event, the Seville antiquaries are not agreed as to the precise spot where Don Fadrique was murdered. According to the tradition preserved by the porters of the Alcazar, the Master was assassinated in the Hall of the *Azulejos*. The marks of his blood are still

the dying man. Then, having made sure of his vengeance, he passed into a hall, a few yards distant from his brother's corpse, and sat down to dinner.*

Don Pedro could eat undisturbed by the sight of his murdered enemy; but his banquets were unlike those of Vitellius. He had, moreover, need of sustenance, for more than ordinary fatigue must be undergone this day. In a few minutes, he was on horseback on his way to the north. Nevertheless, he had time to send some of his ballesteros to despatch the principal partizans of Don Fadrique. To Cordova, Salamanca, Mora, Toro, and Villajiro, repaired these messengers of death, punctually executing their terrible commission.

shown, as those of the Duke of Guise are at Blois. Ayala positively asserts that the Master was slain in the court, and that Don Pedro dined in the Hall of the *Azulejos*.

Azulejos.—" Seville," says Mr. Ford, "is very rich in this Moorish decoration; *azul* and *azulejo*, although both derived from Arabic words, do not come from the same root. The former is *lazurad*, the lapis lazuli; the latter *zulaj*, *zuleich*, a varnished tile. *Lazurad* was borrowed from the Persian; the Arabic word, blue, being *zaraco*, whence the Spanish *zarco*, which is only applied to blue eyes. Most names of colours in the Spanish are derived from Arabic words, such as *albayalde*, *carmesi gualdo*, *azulturqui*, *ruano*, *alazan*. The Moor was the chemist and decorator from whom the rude Gotho-Spaniard learned his arts, and the words to express them. The use of the *azulejo* is very ancient and Oriental. The sapphire and blue were always the favourite tints, (Exod. xxiv. 10, Is. liv. xi.) The substance is composed of red clay, the surface of which is highly glazed in enamelled colours. The material is cool, clean, and no vermin can lodge in it. The Moors formed with it most ingenious harlequinades, combining colour and pattern."—Ford's "Spain," 258.

* Ayala, p. 237, 243.

The hour of vengeance had arrived, and the inexorable Don Pedro was about to punish all the crimes which hitherto he had pretended to forgive. He had forgotten neither Alfonso Tenorio, who had drawn his sword in his presence at the Conferences at Toro;* nor Lope de Bendaña, that commander of Santiago, who had insulted him to his face at the gates of Segura.† These were the more illustrious victims. The others were obscure agents of Don Fadrique, or the Conde de Trastamara, the medium of their correspondence with the malcontents of the principal towns of Castile.

Don Juan de Aragon, imagining himself already sure of the lordship of Biscay, had resigned into the king's hands the office of Adelantado of the frontier, which was immediately conferred upon Enrique Enriquez, Alguazil-mayor of Seville; Garci Gutier Tello, a knight of illustrious birth, replacing Enriquez as chief magistrate of this the largest city in the kingdom. The death-warrants and writs of investiture had been prepared beforehand, and did not detain Don Pedro a moment in Seville. Seven days sufficed him to reach Aguilar del Campo, in the kingdom of Leon,‡ where he hoped to surprise his brother, Don Tello, before the death of Don Fadrique had set him on his guard. Speed so extraordinary for that period, leads us to suppose that relays had been ordered, and sufficiently proves that the Master of Santiago's death was but the prelude to a vast plan long meditated, and prepared with singular forethought.

* Ayala, p. 974.

† Ibid., p. 969.

‡ Ibid., p. 243.

Don Pedro had resolved to found an absolute monarchy upon the ruins of the aristocratic power. For some time this idea had solely occupied his thoughts. A happy chance saved Don Tello. He was out hunting when the king made his entry into Aguilar, and was warned of the royal presence by an esquire, who, upon recognizing the king, hastened to acquaint his master. Don Tello immediately fled with precipitation. Upon arriving in Biscay, he did not attempt to excite that province to revolt, where two years previously he had victoriously repulsed the king's forces; he did not wait to assemble his vassals, or to give them any commands; he thought only of placing the sea between himself and his brother. On the 7th of June, he embarked at Bermeo, in a vessel for Bayonne. A few hours later, Don Pedro entered Bermeo, and, stepping into the first boat he found, gave him chase as far as the heights of Lequeitio. There contrary winds and a rough sea obliged him to renounce the pursuit. Doña Juana de Lara, Don Tello's wife, was less fortunate than her husband; she remained a prisoner in the Castle of Aguilar.*

It is difficult to understand the conduct of the Biscayans on the king's arrival in their province. Not a sword was unsheathed to defend the rights of the heir of Lara; and those hardy mountaineers, who so lately had risen to a man to repel the invasion of a Castilian army, now seem to have offered no opposition to the mortal enemy of their lord, if indeed they did not welcome him. Possibly Don Tello's government had offended the Basques, who were ever jealous of their ancient liberties.

* Ayala, p. 243, and following.

That same Avendaño, who formerly had led his countrymen against the royal troops, and who had subsequently been assassinated by Don Tello's orders, appears to have been the animating spirit of their energetic resistance. He, it seems, was one of those powerful citizens, one of those national chiefs, whose names are unknown beyond their native province, but who, as representatives of popular interests, exercise unlimited authority over their fellow-countrymen. The last civil war in Spain has shown the extent of the power of these chieftains. By attaching Avendaño to himself, Don Pedro had prepared the way for the conquest of Biscay. He now came as his avenger, and was therefore received with open arms. His first care was to gather around him the principal citizens of the lordship of Biscay. The king spared neither presents, flattery, promises, nothing in short to win them. He found the surest method was to affect the greatest respect for their political independence; and, therefore, he proclaimed, that now that he had delivered the Biscayans from a lord who had oppressed them, he should leave to the national assembly the choice of a new señor. Meanwhile, he summoned all the deputies of the province, and like a comedian whose acting is the more life-like, because the part he assumes is not wholly feigned, he appeared in their eyes as the avenger of the people, and the enemy of those feudal tyrants whose power he had already so considerably reduced. It was easy for a young prince full of energy and fire, who talked familiarly over his projects with these frank mountaineers, to gain their confidence. On the other hand, Don Juan

de Aragon, who enticed by the king's promises, had followed him from Seville, haughtily claimed the lordship of Biscay, and urged him to enforce the acknowledgment of his rights. The king was as usual lavish of his oaths, he assured Don Juan that he had come with no other intention, and that the consent of the Diet was but a vain formality which he was certain of obtaining. Don Pedro then convoked the Biscayan deputies at Guernica, and personally attended their meeting, held as heretofore in the open air, and according to ancient custom, under a tree which is the object of an almost superstitious veneration to the inhabitants of Biscay.* There, the king, in a set speech, having first recognised the absolute independence of the Diet, spoke of the claims that Don Juan derived from his wife, second daughter of Nuñez de Lara, and his heiress since the fall of Don Tello and Doña Juana, and in conclusion asked the deputies whether they would acknowledge Don Juan as their lord. Scarcely had he ended when a cry arose: "Never shall Biscay have any other lord than the King of Castile. We will have none other." This cry, the expression of national pride, and national good sense, was raised by 10,000 voices. Since they must have a lord, the Basques would at least have one who was not another man's vassal. Don Pedro, affecting surprise,† thanked the assembly, and

* In the last civil war, the queen's troops, every time that they entered Guernica, cut down the poplar under which the deputies of the three provinces assembled, and each time the Basques planted another so soon as the enemy had departed.

† According to the received tradition in Biscay, the lordship

without definitely replying to the offer, expressed himself as flattered by such an unexpected act of homage. But the Infante began to perceive that he was treated as a dupe. He burst forth into angry reproaches. To appease him, the king promised to make a second effort. "At Guernica," he said, "the deputies were hastily assembled, and expressed only the opinion of a few districts. At Bilbao, the principal town in the lordship, I shall more easily persuade the Biscayans to render you their homage. According to the *fueros* of the province, that capital is the only place where the rights of the lord ought to be recognized.*

A fortnight only had elapsed since Don Fadrique's death, six days since the flight of Don Tello, and already Don Pedro, although without an army, was master of the whole of Biscay. On the morning after his arrival at Bilbao, he summoned the Infante, who at

had been governed by the same family from the ninth to the fourteenth century. Lope de Zuria, who had successfully defended the province aganist Alfonso, King of Leon, was elected lord in 860. His race expired with Doña Juana de Lara, wife of Don Tello. It is said that Lope de Zuria was the first of the Lords of Biscay who solemnly swore to observe the liberties of the country. One of the first articles runs as follows: "Every order of the king or lord, which shall or might be contrary to the liberties of Biscay, shall be obeyed, but not executed," (obedecidos y non complidos). This reminds us of the English constitutional fiction, that the king can do no wrong.

* The customs of Biscay require the king to swear to keep the fueros intact: 1st. before the municipality (regimiento) of Bilbao; 2ndly, in the Church of San Emeterio, in the same town; 3rdly, under the tree of Guernica; 4thly and lastly, in the Church of Santa Euphemia, at Bermeo.

once proceeded to the palace attended by two or three esquires, who were obliged by etiquette to wait at the door of the king's chamber. The Infante wore no sword, but only a poniard in his girdle. A few courtiers surrounded him, and as if in sport, examined his weapon and carried it away. All at once a chamberlain seized him by the arm, and at the same time a ballestero, named Juan Diente, one of those who had killed Don Fadrique, dealt him a heavy blow on the head from behind. Although stunned by the blow Don Juan broke loose, and staggering forward approached Hinestrosa, who presented the point of his sword and called out to him not to advance. Then the mace-bearers redoubled their blows, felled him to the earth and despatched him. The square in front of the palace was crowded with people. A window is opened, and the dead body of the Infante thrown into the midst of the crowd, a voice crying out, "Biscayans, behold him who pretended to be your lord!" * And the crowd thought that the king had done no more than justice, and that he knew how to defend the liberties of Biscay.†

III.

Scarcely had the Infante breathed his last sigh, than Juan de Hinestrosa mounted his horse and set out for Roa, a town which the king, during his captivity at Toro, had ceded to his aunt, the Queen Dowager of Aragon. She was ignorant of her son Don Juan's death, and was living quietly with her daughter-in-law

* Catad y vuestro Señor de Vizcaza que vos demandaba.

† Ayala, p. 244, and following.

Doña Isabel de Lara, when Hinestrosa, having demanded the keys of the town in the king's name, presented himself before her and secured her person. The next day, Don Pedro, who followed close upon Hinestrosa, arrived at Roa and issued orders that the two princesses should be removed to the castle of Castrojeriz, which he had given to Hinestrosa in fee. The devotion of the Castellan was a sufficient guarantee that the prisoners would not escape. From Roa the king repaired to Burgos where he remained some days, whilst from the north and south his ballesteros brought him, suspended from their saddle-bows, the heads of the knights whom he had proscribed before quitting Seville.* Don Tello alone had escaped his vengeance. It was not, however, yet sated and he was preparing to start for Valladolid, meditating fresh executions, when he learned that the Conde de Trastamara, upon receiving intelligence of his brother's death, had commenced hostilities in the province of Soria;† and on the other hand that the Infante Don Fernando, who occupied Alicante and Orihuela, was making incursions into the plains of Murcia.‡ Despite the non-performance of the articles signed at Tudela, the truce between Castile and Aragon had not been declared at an end, nor had the taking of Jumilla by the Master of Santiago yet been followed by reprisals. The inroads of Don Fernando and Don Enrique, were made without the authority of Pedro IV. and were a kind of defiance hurled by them at the murderer of their brothers. Don Pedro hastily quitted

* Ayala, p. 247. † Ibid., p. 248.

‡ Ibid., ibid. Carbonell, p. 186, and following.

Burgos, and started for the Sorian frontier; but the Conde, after having burned a few villages, had retreated into Aragon at the first show of resistance. Don Fernando met with no better success in Murcia, and after a useless attack upon Cartagena, had retired with some booty, taking with him the Moors and Jews, who, when no ransom could be obtained for them, were sold for slaves. The king, after having written to Pedro IV. complaining of Don Enrique's invasion and breach of the truce,* left a few troops to guard the frontier and returned to Seville to complete the equipment of his fleet. He had, contrary to the diplomatic usages of the time, entrusted a simple archer of his guard with his letter to the King of Aragon, and this inattention to forms appears to have desperately offended that monarch. He replied by bitter recriminations, and sent the King of Castile a cartel, haughtily challenging him to combat in closed lists, twenty against twenty, or hundred against hundred, "For it is not meet," he said, "that kings should fight alone."†

According to Tomich, a very accurate Catalan author, Pedro IV., who was small of stature and weak in frame, feared the superior skill and muscular strength of Don Pedro, and would have commissioned Bernardo Galceran de Pinos, an Aragonese knight, renowned for his prowess, to defy his rival before the Pope. With such a second, Pedro IV. imagined himself invincible. Galceran then dwelt at Avignon, having been banished

* Arch. gen. de Arag. Autografos Almazan, 10th of July, Era 1396, (1358).

† Zurita, p. 289.

from Barcelona on account of some murder. Joyfully accepting this honourable mission, he hastened to the Holy Father, and several days afterwards proclaiming that his master accused the King of Castile of treason, challenged him to mortal combat, with such seconds as he might select.* Whatever might have been the form of the cartel, Don Pedro gave it no attention; it was at the head of a powerful army that he desired to meet his enemy.

* Zurita, p. 289, verso. The Memoirs of Pedro IV. (in Carbonell) do not mention this anecdote, to which Zurita appears to attach credence. It is related by Abarca, "Anales de Aragon," t. XXIV, cap. VII, §. II.

CHAPTER XII.

MARITIME EXPEDITION AGAINST ARAGON.
1358—1359.

I.

At the commencement of the summer of 1358, twelve Castilian gallies were in the Guadalquivir, ready for sea. With this little fleet, reinforced by six Genoese gallies in his pay, Don Pedro sailed for the coasts of Valencia, whilst a body of six hundred men-at-arms advanced from Murcia to assist him in his operations. On arriving in sight of Guardamar,* a town belonging to the Infante of Aragon, the king disembarked his men, and with his land forces, who were punctual at the place of meeting, vigorously commenced the assault. The besieged, driven from the outer walls by a shower of arrows, took refuge in the donjon, where they remained firm and unhurt. Whilst the king was preparing to follow up his advantage, and force the keep, a sudden tempest arose, and drove his ships upon the coast: The vessels, deprived of a part of their crew, and wanting men to work them properly, were stranded. Two gallies alone, one a Castilian, the

* This place owes its name to its site, being built at the mouth of the River Segura, towards the sea.—*T.*

other a Genoese, gained the port of Cartagena. Don Pedro having with his fleet lost the means for carrying on the siege, and despairing of taking the citadel by assault, retreated into Murcia, although not until he had vented his rage on the town of Guardamar, by setting it on fire.* Reverses, instead of humbling, only irritated this energetic spirit. Upon the very shore which was covered with the remains of his ill-fated vessels, he planned a more powerful expedition; and disregarding the roar of the tempest, dictated orders for the equipment of a new fleet. He commanded that a large quantity of wood should be laid up at Seville; he pressed the Kings of Portugal and Granada to furnish him with ships, and finally he wrote to the town councils of the maritime cities of Galicia, the Asturias, and Biscay, desiring them to place an embargo upon all vessels fit for sea, and to send them to Seville.† Within six months, at least, he hoped to possess the largest fleet that had ever been seen in any Spanish port. Meantime, occasional incursions into the kingdom of Valencia, the siege of several fortresses, amongst others that of Monteagudo, which place he took from his brother, Don Tello,‡ occupied his time, and beguiled his impatience until the approach of winter. He then returned to Seville, where his presence imparted fresh activity to the maritime preparations still in progress there. Every day he visited the arsenals,§ inspected

* Ayala, p. 249.

† Idem, p. 250, 251.

‡ Idem, p. 252.

§ "Zuñiga, in his 'Annals of Seville,'" says Mr. Dillon, in a note to his History of Peter the Cruel, "greatly extols these

the ships, reviewed the crews. He was liberal of his money, and spared nothing to excite emulation amongst his workmen and sailors.

Notwithstanding the petty enterprises to which I have just alluded, the negociations for peace were not entirely broken off, and, according to the political casuists of the middle ages, the treaty of Tudela might even be considered as still in force, no hostilities having taken place except between Don Pedro and his private enemies, the Conde de Trastamara and the Infante Don Fernando. But the King of Aragon now thirsted to avenge the burning of Guardamar. In the month of March, 1359, he entered Castile with a numerous

magnificent arsenals, as well as the College of Admiralty, founded by Alfonso the Wise in 1252. This edifice was one of the most remarkable in the city of Seville, and well situated on the banks of the river. Great part of the ancient building has been long since converted to other purposes; one division of it forms the hospital of La Caridad, where the following Leonine verses, still extant on its walls, proclaim its original use, and the magnificence of its royal founder:

Res tibi sit nota, domus hæc et fabrica tota,
Quam non ignarus Alphonsus sanguine clarus
Rex Hispanorum fuit. Fuit iste onorum
Actius in Austrinas vices servare carinas:
Arte micat plena, fuit hic informis arena
Era millena vicentina nonaginta.

After the discovery of America, the face of things greatly altered in the city of Seville, which assumed a new consequence, from the immense quantities of merchandize imported there from the New World. These spacious arsenals were converted into warehouses and a custom-house: the woods were neglected and cut down, and new arrangements took place."

army, set fire to the town of Haro, and attempted to besiege Medina Celi.* After this incursion, which lasted several days, he was alarmed by the accounts brought him of the great armaments preparing at Seville, and precipitately retreated into Aragon, entirely engrossed with devising projects for the better defence of the coasts of Catalonia and Valencia.

II.

At the moment when the Castilian flotilla was preparing to sail down the Guadalquivir, Cardinal Guy de Boulogne arrived in Spain on a mission from the Pope. He came to renew the attempts at pacific intervention, in which his predecessor, Cardinal Guillen, had so signally failed. Aware that Don Pedro had upbraided the last Papal legate with his haughtiness, and above all with his partiality for the Aragonese, he imagined that he would be more successful by affecting to follow a totally different policy, and commenced by flattering the sensitive pride of the young king. "The Pope," he said to Don Pedro, "regards the King of Castile as the buckler of Christendom, and is grieved to see him turn his arms against a Catholic prince, instead of imitating his glorious ancestors, who fought so valiantly

* Zurita, t. II, p. 291. "This place," writes Mariana, "is situated on the confines of the ancient Celtiberi, Carpetani and Arevaci, and in former times was a great city; but at the period under consideration, it was but of moderate importance, though strong through its natural position, and, moreover, was so stoutly defended by the garrison, that the Aragonese were forced to return to Zaragoza without effecting an entry, or doing anything of much moment."—*T.*

against the enemies of the true faith. The Holy Father regrets that he is unable to come in person and terminate a war so destructive and offensive to religion."* However impatient Don Pedro might be to commence his campaign, he was not insensible to this dexterous flattery. He met the legate on the frontier in the city of Almazan, and received him most graciously. Nevertheless, far from lowering his pretensions, he even raised them. He still required the surrender of Perellos and the expulsion of the Castilian emigrants, amongst whom he now reckoned Don Fernando, the brother of the King of Aragon. Moreover, he claimed the towns of Alicante and Orihuela, as well as other fortresses, on the ground that they had formerly made part of the kingdom of Murcia, and that they had been ceded, or sold to him, at the time of the treaty of Toro, by Don Fernando, who was then their liege lord. Finally, he required that the King of Aragon should defray the expenses of the war, which he estimated at five hundred thousand florins.

Without objecting to those extravagant demands, and pleased with having retarded, by his presence alone, the impending invasion of the Castilians, the legate immediately forwarded to Pedro IV. the propositions he had just received. On this side, the Cardinal met no less obstinacy. The King of Aragon protested against the cession of any part of his territory, and absolutely denied the rights claimed by Don Pedro over the towns in the kingdom of Valencia, adding, however, that in his extreme desire for peace, he was willing to refer this

* Ayala, p. 256.

point to the decision of the Holy See, and provisionally to engage a learned doctor to plead his cause before the legate. His honour, as a sovereign, forbade him, he said, to deliver up his vassal, Perellos, to the justice of a foreign prince, upon a mere accusation; however, he renewed his promise to have his admiral tried, and in the event of an Aragonese tribunal finding him guilty, to place him in the hands of the offended monarch. He still more peremptorily refused to pay the indemnity claimed by the King of Castile; the aggressor, as he said, ought to pay the expenses of the war, not he, who had repelled an unjust invasion. The only point upon which Pedro IV. evinced any inclination to yield was the expulsion of the Castilian emigrants, and he seemed to have forgotten his treaties with the Conde de Trastamara. At the same time, he made a reservation in favour of the Infante Don Fernando, who, as an Aragonese prince, and heir to his crown, could not be included in the same list with the other refugees who were subjects of Don Pedro.*

The legate foresaw that the contest between such opposite pretensions would be long and obstinate; his first care therefore was to request of the two princes a truce for a year at least, in order that he might examine at leisure the papers relating to these grave matters, receive the opinion of the Holy See, and arrive at an equitable decision. On receiving this proposal, Don Pedro exclaimed that he should be mad to grant a truce, now that his fleet, which had been equipped at an

* Ayala, p. 258, 266. Zurita, 292.

enormous expense, was just ready to sail, and his troops were assembled, paid, and on the point of crossing the frontier. All that he could be prevailed upon to grant, in the spirit of conciliation, and as a proof of his deference for the Sovereign Pontiff's legate, was to reduce his demands to the surrender of the disputed towns, and the immediate dismissal of the Castilian emigrants. Upon these two points he still remained inflexible.

The Aragonese monarch, unaccustomed to respect his most solemn engagements would willingly have expelled the Conde de Trastamara and his companions at once; but he persisted in retaining Alicante and Orihuela until he had heard the Pope's decision. As a last attempt to come to some agreement, he proposed to reduce the period of truce to six months, and to refer the solution of their differences to two plenipotentiaries between whom the legate should act as arbiter. When the legate reported this answer: "Cardinal," said Don Pedro to him, "let me hear no more of truces. All these proposals only tend to deprive me of my present advantages. Henceforth let war decide between us.*"

Whilst these fruitless conferences were pending, skirmishes and predatory incursions were frequent; they were carried on principally by the Castilian emigrants in the service of the Conde de Trastamara and the Infante of Aragon. I pass over the enumeration of several unimportant battles, and the siege or surprise of many a small fortress, to repeat a singular anecdote related by a grave

* Ayala, p. 266, 270.

author, Alonso Martinez de Talavera, chaplain to Don Juan II,* King of Castile, and compiler of a chronicle in high estimation. Don Pedro, he writes, having arrived before the castle of Cabezon, which belonged to the Conde de Trastamara, vainly summoned the governor to surrender it. The castellan, faithful to his lord, deigned no reply to the herald, and his magnificent promises, and even refused the interview which the king requested. The whole garrison of the castle consisted only of ten esquires, banished Castilians; but ten resolute men, ensconced behind lofty and thick walls, in a donjon built upon perpendicular rocks, against which no battering-rams could be brought to bear, would have no great difficulty in defending them-

* Juan II., great grandson both of Don Pedro and his bastard brother, Enrique de Trastamara, ascended the throne in 1407, at the early age of two years. His reign was one of the longest, and, at the same time, one of the most disastrous in Castilian annals. Like most of his royal predecessors, he was ever at war with his relatives and his Ricos Hombres; like them, also, his greatest enemy was his cousin, the then Infante of Aragon. It was his fate, too, to be imprisoned by his own grandees, Enrique of Aragon at their head, and to effect his escape while out hunting. More unfortunate than his great grandfather, Don Pedro, he lived to see his own son in arms against him. Weak of intellect, and fickle of disposition, he at last consented to the death of his former minister and friend, Alvaro de Luna, who had served him faithfully and efficiently for five-and-thirty years. He died two years later a prey to remorse and melancholy, his conduct to Alvaro de Luna, weighing as heavily upon his mind, as did the blood of Strafford upon that of our Charles. Juan II. was the father of Isabel, the Catholic, who was among the first to do ustice to the memory of her ancestor, Don Pedro.—*T.*

selves against an army, and need yield only to famine. The siege might be of long duration, for the place was well provisioned. The ten esquires, however, were all young men, and although willing to risk their lives in repelling an assault, were not likely to endure with patience the weariness of a blockade. They wanted amusement, and they insolently told the castellan that they must have women to keep them company in their eagle's nest. Now there were in Cabezon no other women than the governor's wife and daughter. "If you will not deliver them up to us," they said to him, "we all quit your castle, or what is more, we open the gates to the King of Castile." The course dictated by the code of chivalric honour in such an emergency was explicit.

At the siege of Tarifa, Alonso Perez de Guzman, being summoned to surrender that town, under penalty of beholding his son murdered before his eyes, replied to the Moors by throwing them his own sword wherewith to slay the boy.* This action, which obtained for the governor of Tarifa the surname of Guzman the Good was a *fazaña*, one of those heroic precedents which every valiant knight was bound to imitate. *Permittitur homicidium filii potius quam deditio castelli*, such is the axiom of a doctor in chivalry of that period. The castellan of Cabezon, as magnanimous in his way as Guzman the Good, so satisfied his garrison, that they gave up all idea of abandoning him. Two esquires, however, less wicked than their companions, were

* In 1294. Mariana, t. 1, p. 849.

filled with horror at their treason, and escaped from the castle. On being brought before the king, they gave him an account of the mutiny they had witnessed, and its results. Don Pedro was filled with indignation, and immediately entreated the governor to allow him to execute justice upon the miscreants. He offered in exchange for these traitors ten gentlemen of his army, who before they entered Cabezon should solemnly swear to defend the castle against all assailants, including the king himself, and be ready to die at their posts with the commandant. His proposal having been accepted, the king ordered the traitors to be quartered, and their mangled bodies committed to the flames.* The romantic colouring with which a fervid imagination has adorned this anecdote, renders it difficult to separate the truth from fiction, but at least we may read in it, the popular impression of Don Pedro's character—a strange compound of chivalrous sentiments, and a love of rude justice bordering upon ferocity.

Don Pedro, attributing the rejection of his ultimatum by the King of Aragon, to the intrigues of the Castilian emigrants and the malcontents of his kingdom, still breathed vengeance, and vengeance only. In the legate's presence, he pronounced sentence of high treason upon the Infante Don Fernando, Enrique de Trastamara, Pedro and Gomez Carrillo, and a few other refugees, cavalleros of distinction. This was in Ayala's opinion, a great political error; for at this very time, several of the exiles were secretly soliciting pardon, and desired nothing better than to relinquish a cause

* Atalaya de las Cronicas, cited by Señor de Llaguno. Ayala, p. 271.

which they considered desperate. Now, however, that they were proscribed by their natural lord, and entirely dependent upon the prince who gave them an asylum, they displayed in his service a devotion fatal to Castile.* Don Pedro's fury was not satisfied by a vain act of formality. He must have blood, and unhappily he retained in his power, hostages dear to his enemies. These were Queen Leonor, mother of Don Fernando, a prisoner in the castle of Castrojeriz; her daughter-in-law, Doña Isabel de Lara, wife of Don Juan de Aragon, who had been murdered at Bilbao; lastly, Doña Juana de Lara, wife of Don Tello. Leonor was the first victim. It is said that no Castilian dared to lay his hands upon the sister of King Don Alfonso, some Moorish slaves were therefore ordered to despatch her.† However that may be, Doña Juana ended her days shortly afterwards in a dungeon of Seville, where she is said to have been poisoned by the king's orders. Her sister Isabel, for some time a prisoner at Castrojeriz, was transferred to the castle of Xerez, where she soon had as a companion in captivity, Queen Blanche, who was removed from Siguenza thither. These two unfortunate women were doomed never to leave their prison alive.‡

After the execution of these cruel orders, which excited an intense feeling of horror throughout Castile, Don Pedro quitted Almazan, to take the command of

* One of the commentators of Gracia Dei, pretends that Pero Lopez de Ayala was amongst the number of the proscribed. This assertion is confuted by the testimony of Ayala himself. *See* "Sem. Erud. de Vall., t. XXVIII, p. 228."

† Carbonell, p. 180, verso.

‡ Ayala, p. 272.

his fleet. He left on the Aragonese frontier five corps of his army to guard the space between Old Castile and Molina, in the kingdom of Murcia. Three of these, the principal of which was under the command of Juan de Hinestrosa, were quartered in the province of Soria, and designed to attack the troops of the Conde de Trastamara. Others were opposed to the Infante Don Fernando, who occupied Orihuela, at the southern extremity of the kingdom of Valencia. These five divisions amounted in all to 5000 men-at-arms, without reckoning the archers and militia of the Commons.* Among the chiefs chosen to command the several corps, we are rather surprised to find the name of Don Fernando de Castro, brother of that Juana, the queen of a day, who was so disgracefully abandoned by Don Pedro, at the commencement of the last civil war. We have seen him solemnly renounce the homage due to the king, and take a most active part in the disturbances of the year 1354. Married to Doña Juana, the natural daughter of King Don Alfonso and Leonor de Guzman, he had quitted Toro shortly after the captivity of Don Pedro, and retired into Galicia where he had large possessions and numerous adherents. From that time he lived a stranger to the civil dissensions of the kingdom. At the commencement of the Aragonese war, after the taking of Tarazona, he brought reinforcements to the Castilian camp, and henceforth became a faithful vassal. He was treated by the king with implicit confidence, and doubtless that confidence was deserved, for his devotion had stood the test of ill fortune. In the absence of any precise information which can explain

* Ayala, p. 273.

so singular a change, it has been supposed that Don Fernando de Castro was attached to Don Pedro by certain interested considerations.

His sister, Doña Juana, according to some authors, had borne the king a son, and whatever doubts might have been raised, as to the legitimacy of this child, he must become eventually a pretender to the crown of Castile. According to this hypothesis, Don Fernando only changed sides in the hope of obtaining the recognition of his nephew.* But we must observe, that the very existence of this son is not attested by any contemporary document, and moreover that Don Pedro, as the sequel of the history will prove, reserved all his tenderness for the children of Maria de Padilla. If Don Fernando had cherished any illusions upon this subject, they must have been quickly dispelled. It is much more probable that the insulting conduct of the Conde

* "Don Juan, confined as a prisoner in the Castle of Soria, under the care of the Alcayde Don Beltran de Eril. He married Elvira, daughter of the Alcayde, in hopes of obtaining his enlargement; but this hard-hearted officer, deaf to the entreaties of his daughter, confined his son-in-law more closely, and loaded him with irons. He died in prison of a broken heart. The unfortunate Don Juan left a son and a daughter; Pedro, Bishop of Osuna; and Constanza, prioress of the royal convent of San Domingo in Madrid, where Don Juan is interred, his corpse having been conveyed there from the Castle of Soria, in 1442, by his daughter, Constanza, the prioress, by whom an effigy of her unhappy father was set up, with the irons on his legs, and suitable inscriptions reciting his birth and misfortunes; but they were afterwards effaced, and his descent called in question."—Dillon's "Pedro the Cruel," vol. 2, p. 124. *See* also Zurita's observations upon Don Pedro's testament, appended to Llaguno's edition of Ayala.

had awakened in his haughty soul a deadly hatred against his former allies. Don Enrique who, when he needed the assistance of De Castro, had given him his sister, annulled the marriage as soon as he felt strong enough to dispense with it.* He obliged his sister to return home, and after the dispersion of the rebels, took her with him into Aragon, where she eventually re-married.† According to all appearances, Fernando de Castro felt this insult so acutely, that forgetting his former quarrel with the king, he only thought how he might revenge himself upon Don Enrique, and to make sure of his vengeance, he formed a close alliance with the implacable enemy of the bastard prince.‡ Whatever

* I have not been able to ascertain the exact period at which this rupture took place. Señor de Llaguno imagines that the king got the marriage annulled in order to embroil Don Fernando with Don Enrique. If Don Pedro really took part in this intrigue, his interference was kept a profound secret, since Don Fernando directed all his resentment against the Conde de Trastamara. The pretext for the dissolution of the marriage was, that the husband and wife being within the prohibited degrees, had not obtained the necessary dispensation. They were second cousins. Doña Isabel Ponce de Leon, mother of Don Fernando, was first cousin to Doña Leonor de Guzman, mother of Doña Juana.

† To an Aragonese noble, named Don Felipe de Castro.

‡ Gutier Diez de Gamez relates that Don Pedro, in planning his escape from Toro, had arranged that a fresh horse, a lance, and a sword should be provided for him at a certain place in the hunting field. On arriving there, he said to his companions: 'Let those who are for the king follow me; those who are for the Conde, return to Toro, for I shall take another road.' Then turning to Don Fernando de Castro, 'As for you, Don Fernando, to whom do you owe more fidelity than to me? I have a mind to pierce you instantly with this lance.' 'Sire,' said Don Fernando

might be the motives for this change, he was the only one of the league chieftains whom Don Pedro treated with consideration, and with whom his reconciliation was sincere and lasting.

III.

The fleet was now assembled at Seville, and only awaited the king's arrival to set sail. It consisted of twenty-eight Castilian gallies, two galleasses and four ships with sails and decks, called *leños*, besides eighty merchant vessels, fitted out as men-of-war, *i. e.* each carrying a quarter-deck. In the port of Algeziras lay three armed gallies manned at the expense of the Moorish King of Granada; besides which Don Pedro's fleet was to be further reinforced by ten gallies, and one galleass sent by the King of Portugal. The vessel which bore Don Pedro was the largest ever beheld in those seas. It was a galley called Uxel,* formerly taken from the Moors.

'do you command me to go with you?' 'You will act as you will best,' replied the king. 'Then, sire,' returned Don Fernando, 'I will follow you, and never forsake you whilst you live.' *Cronica de Don Pedro Nino, Conde de Buelna, por Gutier Diez de Gamez, su Alferez*, p. 17. The story, however, is most likely apocryphal, inasmuch as at that time, Don Fernando, rather than the Conde, was the leader of the malcontent lords.—*T.*

* *Que decian Uxel.* By this expression of Ayala, it might be imagined that Uxel was the name of the vessel. But in several papers of the Archives of Aragon, I have met with the word oxeles in the plural, which proves that it was a generic name to designate a certain class of ships.

The vessel on which Don Pedro embarked, was a large galley of the class called *uxeres*, or *oxeres*, with three towers, one fore and aft, and one midships. Capmany, tom. 1. P. 1. p. 47, quoted

It had three castles or towers of several stories high, in which were placed cross-bowmen (ballesteros), who overlooking the hostile vessels, fought from their eminence with great advantage. The lower deck contained a stable for forty horses, and besides the sailors necessary to work the ship, the crew was composed of a hundred and sixty men-at-arms, and a hundred and twenty archers. The historian, Pero Lopez de Ayala was on board this ship, and commanded the stern. Amongst the captains of the other vessels were, it is said, several Genoese, who were considered the best sailors of the age, and were as well as the Admiral Gil de Boccanegra, for a long time in the service of Castile.*

in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana." Each of the Aragonese admirals, had likewise a castellated galley. The usual complement of men in the ordinary gallies, including the whole crew was four hundred, in those of the admirals, five hundred. Idem. On the prow of the royal galley, was stationed Garci Alvarez de Toledo, the captain, between midships, Arias Gonzalez de Valdes, and at the stern, as mentioned in the text, stood Lopez de Ayala. —"Cronica del Rey Don Pedro," p. 280.—*T.*

* "The office of Lord High Admiral of Castile, was first instituted in 1248, by Fernando III. at the important siege of the city of Seville, in order to give greater vigour to the naval exertions employed on that occasion. This officer was invested with great ceremony, being enrobed in splendid garments, a sword of state put into his right hand, and a costly ring on his finger; and in his left, the royal standard of Castile: after which he was sworn into office, with all the parade and pomp of chivalry, suitable to the times, and the high trust committed to his charge. In the absence of the king, he represented the royal person, had full authority over the naval department, with a seventh share of all prizes, and the same proportion of all shipwrecks. After the

About the end of April, 1359, this immense fleet entered the Mediterranean, after having vainly expected for two whole weeks, the arrival of the Portuguese vessels in the roads of Algeziras. On the 7th of May, it was signaled from the heights of Cartagena, where it remained a few days.* On quitting Seville, the king had declared that he desired to terminate the war by a decisive engagement. Barcelona, the centre of the commerce and naval power of the Aragonese sovereigns, was the grand object of his efforts. At that period, this city, still but indifferently fortified, trusted for her defence, like Athens of old, to the number of her vessels, and the courage of her sons.† It was, therefore,

death of Don Pedro, the office of lord high admiral dwindled into a mere titular honour, and was settled on the house of Enriquez by Enrique III. It finally ceased in the last Duque de Medina del Rio Seco, of the house of Enriquez, who was deprived of it in 1705, by Felipe V. on account of his partiality to the house of Austria, at the very time when he was ambassador from Felipe to the court of France."—Etat présent de l'Espagne, par Veyrac, Amsterdam, 1719. Note to Dillon, vol. i. p. 260.

Amongst the Castilian captains of the fleet, were Don Diego de Padilla, Garci Jufre Tenorio, brother of the ill-fated Alfonso Jufre, and of the former Repostero Mayor, Suer Perez de Quiñones, Diego Gonzalez, son of Don Gonzalo Martinez, whilome Master of Alcantara, and Martin Lopez de Cordova.—"Cronica de Don Pedro," p. 276.—*T.*

* Arch. ger. de Arag. Autog. Letter from the Infante Don Fernando to Pedro IV. dated from Valencia, 7th of May, 1359, announcing the near approach of the Portuguese squadron.

† Barcelona seems early to have taken a high position as a maritime town. It lays claim to the honour of being the first city since the Christian era, that compiled a code of maritime laws; this honour, however, is contested both by Pisa and Venice.

important not to allow the enemy the opportunity of organising a vigorous resistance; nevertheless, the king lost much time in cruizing about Algeziras, and afterwards near Cartagena; at last, however, he stopped before Guardamar, where he had the satisfaction of taking the castle which had witnessed his misfortunes the preceding year. Coasting along Valencia, and spreading terror everywhere, he at last met the Portuguese squadron at the mouth of the Ebro. The legate, who was then at Tortosa, hastened to the coast, and entreated him, as usual unsuccessfully, to grant a few days' truce. The king received him with due honour, admitted him to his table, but rejected all his proposals.

A squadron of seven gallies, which had preceded the Castilian fleet in its fruitless search after Aragonese vessels, brought to Cartagena at the end of a few days' cruize, a Venetian bark, captured near the Balearic isles. The King of Castile was then at peace with the republic; "but," says Ayala, "it is the custom of princes who possess fleets to board all the neutral vessels they meet."* Such at that time was maritime law in Europe. The Venetian vessel, which was richly laden, was at first declared a lawful prize; however, it was given up some time after, in compliance with the demands of the Venetian consuls.

Barcelona, which in the fourteenth century was the most wealthy and commercial city in Spain, is built upon the edge of a bay facing the south-east of the

Which ever city framed the code, Barcelona appears to have first promulgated it.—Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. II. p. 396.—*T.*

* Ayala, p. 227.

Mediterranean. Opposite the town, a slip of narrow land, now the suburb of Barceloneta, protects the anchorage on the eastern side, whilst a chain of mountains at a short distance from the coast, defends it against the west and north winds. On the south, the entrance to the port is barred by hidden rocks and sand-banks. At the present day, vessels are forced to anchor under the peninsula of Barceloneta; for on the city side, the water is not very deep, and is liable to be choked up by deposits from the river. It even appears from authentic documents that less than three centuries ago, gallies were moored near the Exchange, so that in fact, the sea then covered the site of several modern streets. In 1359, the town had no ramparts on the side of the shore, and there was not sufficient time to raise such regular fortifications as should protect it against a hostile landing. But the King of Aragon, hastening to Barcelona, proclaimed the ancient custom, *princeps namque,** obliging the whole population to take up arms, and form a tumultuary militia, which still bears the name of *somatents.*† The buoys and signals which marked the passages between the sand-banks, were carefully removed, and in these

* Carbonell, p. 187. These are the first words of the law, which gives to the prince or supreme magistrate, the right of convoking all the inhabitants, able to bear arms, when the city is in danger.

† A name given to the levies of Catalonia. The most probable etymology is furnished me by my friend, Don Manuel de Bofarull. The heralds appointed to summon the militia, cried out before each house: *Via fora!* come forth! The inhabitants, issuing from their homes armed, replied: *Som atents*, we are ready. It was a kind of rallying cry, which in the end became the name of this species of *landsturm*.

channels were cast enormous anchors to force in the bottoms of any Castilian ships which might incautiously endeavour to effect an entrance. Ten well-equipped gallies, some carrying bombs, formed a line, which, towards the south, extended as far as the heights of Monjuich, and on the north, to the convent of Minor Friars,* thus covering the entrance of the principal streets which opened upon the port. Four machines called *bricolos*, probably some species of catapults, and set upon wheels, were placed on the shore, ready to be directed to any point the enemy might assail. Between the gallies lay many smaller vessels, manned by sailors and archers. Lastly, behind the line of the vessels, and upon the strand itself, the inhabitants of Barcelona had hastily erected a kind of bulwark, by placing, keel upwards, a line of boats, behind which were ranged the various corps of craftsmen, each under its own banner, and flanked by the *somatents* of the surrounding country, who were summoned to the town by the tocsin of the cathedral. All these preparations were completed, when the Castilian fleet appeared on the other side of the sand-banks, above forty gallies strong, exclusive of sailing vessels.

By imprudently venturing into the channels, the armament would probably have sustained considerable damage, had not a runaway slave who had swum from the city, revealed to Don Pedro's admirals, the existence of the submarine snares of which I have just spoken.

* This convent is no longer in existence. A coal-wharf stands on its site. The monastery was situated exactly opposite the Atarazanas, to the left of the stairs which lead to the sea wall.

These must be destroyed ere any attempt could be made upon the city, and for two or three days, the long boats were ordered out to remove the anchors thrown in the channels.

This obstacle being surmounted, the whole fleet advanced in good order on Whit-monday, the 10th of July, 1359, and lay ranged in order of battle parallel to the line of Aragonese ships. They fought the whole day without material injury on either side. It was perhaps rather a mutual recognition than a serious attack. Towards evening the Castilian vessels retired and anchored behind the sand banks. During the night, the Catalans contracted their line of defence, and retreated nearer the city in order to gain the support of their machines and the archers who were ranged on the shore. The next morning a more serious engagement took place. The Castilian ships carried upon their quarter-decks catapults which threw out large stones; but whether the engines were at too great a distance or were ill-directed, they were all but ineffectual, and the Catalans, seeing the stones fall into the waters, replied to these harmless missives by shouts of derision. The artillery of the Catalans, on the other hand, were more surely pointed, and produced more disorder among the assailants. The following incident, related by the King of Aragon, in his memoirs, proves that even then it was known how to point the guns with some precision and load them with rapidity.* The principal efforts of

* The guns were then made of wrought-iron bars, like the planks of a cask, and bound by iron hoops. The breech was open, and in order to load the gun, they placed in it a cylindrical box or

the Castilians were directed against the first vessel on the right of the line of defence, and they sent forward their largest ship, armed with an enormous catapult, to bear down upon her. "As the engine was about to play," says Pedro IV., "our vessels discharged a bomb which, falling upon the stern of the Castilian, did her considerable injury and killed a man. Shortly afterwards the same machine discharged a second volley, which struck the mast of the enemy's ship, made a great report, and mortally wounded several sailors.*

Defeated in all their attacks, and despairing to force the enemy's line, the Castilian admirals, after a few hours' fight, gave the signal for retreat, and the whole fleet, veering from the shore, re-entered the ocean and sailed for the Balearic isles.† Don Pedro disembarked at Ivica and besieged the capital of that island. Thus, instead of profiting by the great superiority of his naval

barrel, as we now call it, filled with powder. The gunners had a certain number of these barrels ready charged, which they placed successively in the piece, without being obliged to clean it out, as is now the case. *See* an account of these bombards in M. Deville's excellent work upon the "Château de Tancarville," p. 15.

* Carbonell, p. 187. Ayala, p. 277, and following. Zurita, p. 294.

† The Balearic isles were then annexed to the kingdom of Aragon. Pedro IV. some sixteen years before, had dethroned his brother-in-law, Don Jayme, King of Majorca. Don Jayme appears to have been as unpopular with his subjects, as any other Spanish prince of this period, and the islanders had not much difficulty in persuading Pedro IV. to disregard the ties of blood, and seize upon his relative's dominions. Mariana, Book XVI. chap. XII.—*T.*

forces to destroy the dispersed Aragonese squadrons, he employed his immense armament against an unimportant town. So gross an error did not escape the notice of the King of Aragon. Assembling all his armed gallies from his several ports, he formed them into a fleet of forty sail, with which he immediately set out for Majorca. The entreaties of his captains, who besought him not to expose his own person in a naval engagement, determined him to remain in the island, and he transferred the command of his fleet to his admiral, Don Bernal de Cabrera, ordering him to relieve the besieged town. On receiving intelligence of the approach of an Aragonese fleet, Don Pedro, in his ardour for an engagement, hastily left Ivica, and abandoning his esquires and artillery,* set sail for the Valencian coast. He cast anchor before Calpe, near the mouth of the river Denia. The peninsula of Calpe covered his ships when they hailed the Aragonese fleet. In number as well as in the size of the vessels the advantage was on the side of the Castilians. Cabrera had only forty gallies, Don Pedro forty-one, besides eighty sailing vessels; these last, however, could not take part in the fight, unless the wind were favourable, and at the time the two fleets appeared in sight of each other, there was a dead calm. A council of war is held. Boccanegra, the Genoese admiral of Castile, advised the king to land, representing to him that it was derogatory to his dignity to expose his person in a battle in which the King of Aragon was not also present. Perhaps Boc-

* Carbonell, p. 187.

canegra shrank from so great a responsibility as the care of the king's person. He might feel that a single error, an unlucky manœvre, or the chances of the sea, would expose his vessel to the risk of inevitable destruction. It might be, however, that the admiral wished to reserve to himself the honour of the victory. His plan was that the gallies should take ten of the largest vessels in tow and range them in a line in the midst of themselves: and that the rest of the sailing vessels, condemned by the calm to inactivity, should, during the fight, despatch all their long boats, filled with cross-bow men, against the enemy. Don Pedro was determined to remain on board. Much time was lost, first in deliberating, and then in preparing for battle. Whilst they were with difficulty dragging the sailing vessels in tow, the Aragonese gallies, having perceived the superiority of the Castilians, vigorously plied their oars, and succeeded in reaching the river Denia, where they were protected by the forts and the Valencian militia assembled on the shore. The Castilians despaired of forcing the Aragonese from this position.

For two days Don Pedro vainly offered them battle. Cabrera remained quiet in the river, where the king did not dare to venture. Weary of this useless blockade, and despairing of inducing the enemy to engage, Don Pedro retired slowly and, after having attempted an ineffectual descent near Alicante,* reached Cartagena with his en-

* While at Alicante, Don Diego de Padilla, and a few cavalleros and esquires, having straggled into the country on a pleasure expedition, were attacked by a detachment of Aragonese cavalry. They succeeded in regaining their ships, with a loss only of four esquires. Alfonso Ferrandez de Castrillo, who it will be remem-

tire fleet. Here the Portuguese gallies, which, according to their treaty, were not to remain longer than three months in the service of the King of Castile, left him to return to their ports.* This was the signal for a general dispersion. The discharged merchant vessels again put to sea; the Castilian gallies were paid off at Seville, the Moorish vessels at Malaga.† The king, on his part, left Cartagena for the castle of Tordesillas, where Maria de Padilla was about to present him with a son. Such was the end of that great expedition, upon the success of which the king had built so many lofty expectations. After such vast preparations, so much expense, that fleet which was to conquer Catalonia, returned home, bringing, as its sole trophy, the merchant vessel taken from the Venetians. This prize had, however, excited the cupidity of the Castilian captains. They represented to Don Pedro that, having exposed themselves to the enmity of the republic, by capturing one of their vessels, it would be better now to take advantage of a rupture henceforth unavoidable. Twelve Venetian merchant vessels, coming from Flanders, and richly laden, were about to sail through the Straits of Gibraltar, and it was proposed to arrest them

bered, stabbed Castañeda in the presence of the queen-mother, at the taking of Toro, and Juan Sanchez de Otea, who at the same time had slain Pero Estebanez Carpentero, the *soi-disant* Master of Calatrava, were among the dead. "Cronica del Rey Don Pedro," p. 285.—*T.*

* The vessels sent by the King of Portugal to the assistance of his ally and nephew, were under the command of a Genoese, one Micer Lanzaroto Pezaña, who had been some time in the Portuguese service. Ayala, p. 275.—*T.*

† Ayala, p. 280, 287.

in their passage. This act of piracy against neutral vessels, was, it is said, much approved by the king, who ordered twenty gallies* to cruize in the Straits, in order to surprise the Venetians; the sea, however, was again decidedly hostile to Don Pedro. The squadron belonging to the republic, perfectly unconscious of the danger which threatened it, crossed the Straits without difficulty, a gale of wind having driven the king's gallies as far as Cape Espartel.† Shortly after the retreat of the Castilians, the Aragonese fleet re-entered their ports and dismantled. A few vessels alone remained at sea, and continued to ravage the Andalucian coasts.

* Garci Alvarez de Toledo commanded this squadron. Of all his family, Garci Alvarez appears to have been the one most trusted by Don Pedro; he succeeded the king's brother in the Mastership of Santiago.

† Ayala, p. 287.

END OF VOLUME I.

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